NEW MASSES

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TWENTY-SIX YEARS OF THE USSR

A special issue

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NEW MASSES

is proud to announce that

John Howard Lawson

Distinguished screen writer and playwright, has joined its board of contributing editors.

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MR. LAWSON is the author of the remarkable film, *Action in the North Atlantic*, a story of the merchant seamen who deliver the stuff to the war front. His latest script is *Sahara*, which has a Negro as hero. Mr. Lawson also wrote one of the earliest of the anti-fascist films, *Blockade*, which deals with the battle for democracy in Spain.

And long before his movie-writing days John Howard Lawson had already achieved distinction as one of the most vital and original of American playwrights. His play, *Processional*, first produced nearly two decades ago, won him national acclaim. Among his other plays are *Roger Bloomer*, *International*, *Loudspeaker*, and *Marching Song*. He is also the author of a book, *Theory and Technique of Playwrighting*.

In joining NM's contributing editors Mr. Lawson becomes associated with men and women like Paul Robeson, Richard O. Boyer, Rep. Vito Marcantonio, William Gropper, R. Palme Dutt, Samuel Sillen, Dr. Max Yergan, Dr. Bella V. Dodd, Art Young, Samuel Putnam, and Alfred Kreymborg. As a member of our board of contributing editors Mr. Lawson will help strengthen our coverage of the Hollywood scene and our discussion of the problems of the film world. Our recently inaugurated monthly Hollywood letter by N. A. Daniels and articles like Paul Trivers' "Hollywood Writers Move Up" in our September 14 issue and Sanora Babb's piece on the Writers' Congress in the October 26 issue reflect the growing importance of cultural developments in and around the movie industry.

John Howard Lawson's participation in the work of NM adds one more argument in favor of subscribing (if you haven't already done so) and getting your friends to subscribe to the magazine. Recently Mr. Lawson wrote this message for our readers:

"I read NEW MASSES for two reasons: first, because it is a valuable source of information; second, because it is equally valuable for its editorial comment and analysis. Almost every issue offers vital factual material which cannot be found elsewhere. Today, as never before, the American people want *facts*—because they realize that the knowledge of facts is indispensable for winning the war. They are heartily sick of the corruption and distortion in much of the commercial press. NEW MASSES gives us *facts*, and it interprets facts in terms of a consistent philosophy of democratic action and purpose. I hope the magazine can reach a much wider circle of readers, because I am convinced that a bigger circulation for this periodical will help us win the war."

We trust every reader will act on this message, so that by January 1 we will have added at least 5,000 to the growing family of NM subscribers.

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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WE AND THEY—TOGETHER

By the Editors

IT IS indeed a happy confluence of events in which the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Soviet Union takes place. Off in Moscow, at this writing, a momentous meeting reaches its final season, signaling a more mature collaboration among the leading powers. It is also ten years since Maxim Litvinov exchanged letters with President Roosevelt, ending a painful interlude during which there were no diplomatic relations between the two governments, And it was in November a year ago that the turn came at Stalingrad—that dazzling ruby in the crown of the United Nations—and initiated a new phase of the military conflict in which victory loomed larger and nearer.

This month, then, provides many occasions for rejoicing. For it was also the month when our own forces moved into the Mediterranean and set foot on North African soil. The homage paid the Soviet Union in many celebrations will express the gratitude we feel for an ally whose deeds exceed the power of words. There will never be a human device to compute the cost the Russians have paid in defense of their motherland, in defense of the world against fascist violence. And it is good to see that again there will be a Congress of American-Soviet Friendship in New York to extend tribute to the millions who have scaled the highest peaks of heroism.

What is the essential quality of Soviet character which neither the famine nor the torture of war could annihilate? Some with a wily mysticism have attributed it to the unfathomable depth of the Russian "peasant soul." Others, careless and ignorant when they are not malicious, believe that life on the steppes is held cheaply—forgetting that people who do not value their lives will not defend themselves or their neighbors. Still others misread Tolstoy and begin describing the "messianic spirit" that supposedly dominates the Russians.

THESE practitioners of sophistry work themselves into a web of contradictions spun out of prejudice. Having labeled the Russians incomprehensible mystics moved by equally incomprehensible political ideas, they also perforce recognize, and not infrequently admire, the Russian sense of realism. But there is a simple key to Soviet perseverance and Soviet morale. Reduced to its basic elements the Russians fight for home and family and country—motives no different from those for which Americans lie buried in the hills of Algeria and in the jungles of Guadalcanal. But more, the source of Russian endurance streams from the energies released by the Revolution of 1917, by the Soviet state, by the socialist economy and way of life. No citizen of the USSR is stigmatized because his skin is darker than his neighbor's or because he is Jewish. The Russian economy is ever expanding, guaranteeing to the whole people the fruits of their labor. Theirs, in short, is a society which has eliminated unemployment and class selfishness, whose leadership, from Marshal Stalin down, treasures human life above all else.

Here is the fountainhead of Soviet strength and patriotism. From it has come in international affairs a deep sense of honor and a drive for an ordered world through concerted responsibility and collective security. These are the Russians' best assurance that their federation of nations will not be threatened by storms abroad. And it is no surprise that Litvinov for almost two decades was the public prosecutor of fascism in the diplomatic courts of the world.

IN THE history of our relations with the Soviets, we, along with other powers, first tried to destroy them through intervention; then when that proved impossible we embarked on a policy of ignoring the USSR's existence, thinking that we could obliterate her by indifference; and even after formal recognition we treated her much as the rich uncle treats a poor relative whom he does not like. But the Nazis and their bandit allies in Tokyo knew that this was no poor relation. Berlin, for example, moved heaven and earth to prevent recognition of Moscow by Washington—a recognition that came shortly after Hitler took over. Japan, at the very moment that Litvinov was negotiating with the President in the White House in November, 1933, tried every device of sabotage to impede any understanding. Both ends of what later became the Axis were keenly sensitive to what American-Soviet friendship could do to their aggressive designs.

Unfortunately many of our high officials were not. They permitted suspicion and ill-will to reign freely. They accepted Lindbergh's fantastic report on Soviet air power as gospel truth without recognizing the source of its inspiration in the Wilhelmstrasse. Martin Dies became the maker of a venomous foreign policy through his barrages of anti-Communist propaganda. Journalists spilled poison in leading magazines and newspapers without challenge from those whose resposibility it was to weld amity between our country and the USSR. In the interest of what some considered to be the rights of a free press we nearly lost our freedom by alienating our best ally. And all this reached a high pitch of irrationality during the Soviet-Finnish war when even those who should have known better champed at the bit to join the ineffable Mannerheim in a crusade against the Russians. During this clouded interregnum in our Soviet relations, Hitler's American agents wormed into American minds with the slogans of isolationism—an isolationism that meshed with Nazi plans for world rule.

But today, at a frightful cost, we are allies. Still there are those who entertain the notion that such an alliance is the consequence of accident—a necessity even if an unpleasant one. Such concepts are, of course, the more delicate shadings of basically anti-Soviet attitudes. For they rest on the premise that our country can return to past policies once the emergency has disappeared. The holders of these views, along with those less subtle in their machinations, must be pushed aside and eliminated from positions where they can influence national policy. American-Soviet friendship, as former ambassador Joseph E. Davies once put it, "is necessary to our survival as a nation, as a free people. And to the cause which is closest to Americans here—winning the war and winning the peace. . . ." That is becoming the sentiment of the majority of American people in all strata of our national life. It is rooted first in admiration for the Russians as fighters but it is finding even deeper roots in the growing conviction that our national interests cannot be protected through bankrupt policies of the past, or through policies that insist on American world hegemony, or through exclusive, bilateral agreements.

THE national interest is, above all, peace and security. Without either of them we flounder about, with our economy subject to the most harrowing dislocations, with the fear and dread of more bloodshed constantly hanging over us. Peace and security: these are and will be the largest objectives of our generation. We cannot even begin to grasp them if we travel alone. We shall have to find them by working in closest concert with those whose national interests do not and never have conflicted with ours. And we know, even from such conservative spokesmen as Thomas Lamont, Sumner Welles, Wendell Willkie, and Walter Lippmann, that at no point do our largest interests collide with those of the Russians. And the differences that do exist are far from insurmountable. An enduring friendship with the USSR founded on a quick ending of the war, which necessitates the opening of a second front, and political collaboration in the spirit of amity —these can make a world fit for the heroes who will have vanquished fascism.

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Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art

"Not a Single Step Back." Charcoal drawing by Soviet artist Arkady Shcherbakov.

STALINGRAD ETERNAL

Out of the hell of flame and metal—the epic of the city that stopped Hitler. Indomitable Siberians who helped withstand the main blow.

THE Siberian regiments of Colonel Gurtyev's division occupied the defense positions during the night. The appearance of the Stalingrad Works had been always grim and stern, but in the whole world one hardly could come upon a picture grimmer than that which the soldiers of that division saw on an October morning in 1942. Dark, huge buildings, glittering moist rails already partially covered with rust, piles of destroyed freight cars, heaps of steel shafts thrown in disorder in the works' yard, hills of red slag, coal, massive factory smokestacks pierced in many places by German shells. On the asphalted area one could see dark craters made by the detonation of aerial bombs. Everywhere were steel fragments torn like thin shreds of calico by the force of explosion.

The division received an assignment to occupy the position before these works. Behind them was the cold dark Volga. Two regiments were to defend the works while a third was to defend the deep ravine that cut through the factory settlements to the Volga. "The Valley of Death" it was called by the soldiers and commanders of the regiment. Yes, behind was the icy dark Volga; behind was the fate of Russia. The division was to defend its position to death.

The whole military power of Germany during World War I was distributed between two fronts; in 1941 it pressed along the front 2,000 miles long, and this summer and autumn of 1942 it fell as a mighty hammer only on Stalingrad and the Caucasus. More than that—here, in Stalingrad, the Germans again concentrated their offensive only in one place, while stabilizing the front in the southern and central parts of the city. The entire fire power of the numberless mortar batteries, of thousands of guns and air squadrons fell upon the northern part of the city, on the works that stood in the center of the industrial area. The Germans thought that human beings would not withstand such a strain; that on earth there are no such hearts, no such nerves which would not break in the wild hell of fire and screaming metal.

HERE they collected the whole diabolical arsenal of German militarism—superheavy, flame-throwing tanks, six-barreled mortars, armadas of dive bombers with screaming sirens. Here German tommy-gunners were supplied with dum-dum bullets; the artillerists and mine throwers with thermite shells. Here night was bright from fires and sky rockets, and day was dark from the smoke of burning buildings and smoke discs of the German camouflage specialists. Here the crash and din were as heavy as earth and the brief moments of silence seemed more dreadful and ominous than the din of the battle itself.

"The direction of the main blow": for a military man there are no words in war more ominous than these; and it was not by accident that on this gloomy autumn day the defense positions at the Stalingrad Works were taken by Colonel Gurtyev's division. Siberians are a thick-set people, stern, accustomed to cold and privations, taciturn, orderly, disciplined, sharp in language. They are a reliable people with unbreakable spirit. In grim silence they were striking the stony earth with pick axes, cutting embrasures in the walls of the buildings, making blindages, trenches, passages.

Colonel Gurtyev, a lean man, fifty years of age, left the St. Petersburg Polytechnical Institute during his second year in 1914 and volunteered for the front. He was then an artillerist, fought the Germans at Warsaw, Baranovichi, and Chertoriisk. He devoted twenty-eight years of his life to military affairs, fighting or teaching commanders. His two sons went as lieutenants to the battlefront. He left his wife and his daughter—a student—in far Omsk. And

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on this momentous, somber day the Colonel remembered his sons, his daughter, his wife, and scores of young commanders reared by him, remembered the whole of his modest life. Yes, the hour had come when all principles of military science, of morals and duty which he taught with severe constancy to his sons, students, colleagues, were on trial. The colonel looked uneasily at the faces of his Siberian soldiers, men from Omsk, Novosibirsk, Krasnoyarsk, Barnaul, men with whom he was assigned by fate to counter the enemy's blows.

WHEN the Siberians were moved to the great defense boundary they were well prepared. Colonel Gurtyev trusted the firmness and strength of these regiments. His faith was strengthened on the long way to the front when only one extraordinary incident occurred. A soldier dropped his rifle as the train was en route to a station; he bent down, picked up the rifle, and ran two miles to the station to catch up with his group. The Colonel's faith in the firmness of the regiments was again strengthened in the Stalingrad steppe when his men, who were not yet under fire, had calmly beaten off a sudden attack of thirty German tanks. He checked their endurance during the last march to Stalingrad when the men covered 130 miles in two days. And yet the Colonel looked with anxiety at the faces of his fighters who were to advance in the direction of the main blow.

Gurtyev trusted his commanders. In the blindage his young, tireless chief of staff, Colonel Tarasov, would sit over maps day and night planning an intricate combat. In this short lanky man, with the face, speech, and hands of a peasant, lived an indomitable power of thought and spirit. The acting commander of the division in charge of political training, Spirin, possessed a firm will, a keen mind, and ascetic modesty. He was able to remain calm and gay and to smile under circumstances in which the calmest and most cheerful would forget how to smile. The commanders of the regiments, Markelov, Mikhalev, and Chamov, were the Colonel's pride; he trusted these as he trusted himself. And yet Colonel Gurtyev looked with anxiety upon the faces of his commanders for he knew what the direction of the main blow would be; what it meant to hold the great anchor of Stalingrad's defense.

He thought: "Will they hold out? Will they stand to the end?" Hardly had the division time to dig into the stony soil of Stalingrad; hardly had the staff of the division disappeared into a deep gallery sunk in the sandy rock over the Volga; hardly was a wire established connecting the commanding points with the artillery that occupied firing positions beyond the Volga; hardly had the darkness of night given way to dawn, when the Germans opened fire. For eight straight hours Junkers swooped upon the defenses of the division. For eight continuous hours wave after wave of German planes attacked, sirens screamed, bombs whistled, the earth shook, the remains of brick buildings crumbled, columns of smoke and dust towered in the air. For eight hours the Siberians struck at the German planes with all the weapons they had. And, probably, something like despair crept into the German hearts when this burning earth, enveloped in black dust and smoke, obstinately continued to rattle with rifle volleys, with machine guns, with anti-tank and anti-aircraft batteries.

The Germans brought heavy mortars and artillery into action. Tedious hissing of mines and howls of shells joined the scream of sirens and the crash of the bursting bombs. This continued until night. In grim silence the Red Army men were burying their fallen comrades. This was their first day—their "house-warming."

The same night Gurtyev met two old friends at the command point, friends whom he had not seen for more than twenty years. At that time they had been young; now they were gray, wrinkled. Two of them commanded divisions, the third a tank brigade. They embraced each other and all those around. Their chiefs of staffs, aides-de-camp, majors from the operational section saw tears in the eyes of these gray-haired men. "What a fate, what a fate," they kept repeating. And truly, there was something grand and touching in this meeting of childhood friends—a meeting in an hour of supreme trial, among blazing structures and Stalingrad's ruins. Was not this road they were traveling the right one, if they met again when carrying out their difficult duty?

GERMAN artillery thundered the whole night and when the sun came up, forty dive bombers appeared; again sirens screamed and again the black cloud of dust and smoke arose over the earth and covered it. This morning Markelov's regiment did not remain in the trenches. So as to forestall the Germans' decisive blow it left its covers, shelters, and trenches; it left the concrete and stone holes and started an offensive. The battalions were advancing over the heaps of slag, over the ruins of houses, past the granite building of the works' office, over the rails, over the square of the city's suburb. They were advancing, and over their heads the whole hell of the German Luftwaffe was let loose. The biting wind struck their faces, but they kept advancing, and probably a superstitious fear crept into the enemy's heart: are these really men? Are they mortal?

Yes, they were mortal. Markelov's regiment advanced two-thirds of a mile, occupied new positions, consolidated them. Only here could one comprehend that two-thirds of a mile is 1,173 yards; that 1,173 yards are 3,519 feet. During the night the Germans attacked the regiment with overwhelming forces. Battalions of German infantry went into combat; heavy tanks drove forward; machine guns poured lead at the regiment's positions. Drunken German soldiers with automatic rifles swarmed with the obstinacy of somnambulists. Yes, Markelov's regiment was made up of ordinary mortals and few were left alive—but they fulfilled their task!

On the third day the German planes hung over the division for twelve hours. They hovered in the air after sunset and from the deep darkness of the night sky wailing voices of Junkers' sirens resounded. From the morning glow till the evening German guns and mortars struck at the division. One hundred artillery regiments were placed in battle by the Germans in the region of Stalingrad. Sometimes they arranged fire "floods"; during the nights they kept up methodical fire, cooperating with mortar batteries. Several times a day German guns and mortars would suddenly become silent and the oppressive power of the dive-bombers would just as suddenly disappear. Then the observers would cry "Attention!" and the fighting guard would turn to bottles with inflammable liquid; anti-tank gunners would open their canvas bags with shells, tommy-gunners would wipe their guns with their palms, and grenade throwers would move closer the boxes with grenades. This short minute of silence did not indicate a rest. It was a prelude to an attack. Soon the clank of hundreds of caterpillars and the low drone of motors would make clear that tanks were approaching, and the lieutenant would shout: "Comrades! Attention! On the left tommy-gunners infiltrate!"

Sometimes the Germans came as close as thirty or forty yards and the Siberians could see their dirty faces and torn uniforms, could hear them cry out threats in broken Russian. Then the Germans rolled back, and again with renewed fury dive-bombers, artillery fire, and mine-throwers would descend upon the division.

IN November the Germans made 117 attacks upon the regiments of the Siberian division. There was one dreadful day when the German tanks and infantry men renewed the attacks twenty-three times. And each of these attacks was repelled. During this month almost every day German aviators hovered over the division for ten to twelve hours. All this took place on a front one to one and a half miles long. The roar could deafen mankind; the fire and metal could burn and annihilate a nation. The Germans hoped to destroy the spirit of the Siberian regiments. But is it not strange?—the men did not bow, did not become mad, did not lose command over their hearts and nerves, but grew stronger and calmer. The taciturn, thick-set Siberian people became more taciturn. Here, in the direction of the main blow of the German forces one could not hear songs or gay light words during their short minutes of rest. Here men had to bear superhuman strains. There were times

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when they did not sleep for three or four days and the commander of the division, the gray Colonel Gurtyev, speaking with the fighters, heard with pain the words of one who quietly told him: "We have everything, comrade Colonel. Bread—thirty-two ounces, and soup in thermos bottles brought to us twice a day, but one doesn't want to eat. . . ."

Gurtyev loved and respected his men and he knew when a soldier "does not want to eat," it is very difficult, really difficult for him. But now Gurtyev felt no anxiety. He understood: there was no force in the world which could move the Siberian regiments from this place. The fighters and commanders gained much during these encounters with hard experience. Defense became tougher and more nearly perfect. The men mastered the technique of rapid, coordinated subterranean maneuvers, of how to concentrate, to disperse, to pass from the buildings into trenches through passages and back.

With experience the fortitude of the men increased. The division became a smooth, remarkably united organism. The men themselves did not notice the psychological changes that took place during a month's stay in this hell, on the advanced positions of the great Stalingrad defense line. They thought they were the same as they had always been. In their rare free moments they washed—as always—in the subterranean baths. Soup in thermos bottles was brought—as always—and the heavy-bearded Markarevich and Karnaukhov brought them, in leather bags, newspapers and letters from far away Omsk, Tyumen, Tobolsk, Krasnoyarsk. Only the new arrivals, men from the other meadow bank of the Volga, looked upon these men with respectful amazement. Only outsiders could discern their iron strength, their indifference to death, their calm readiness to bear to the end the hard lot of those who took up the fateful defense. Heroism became matter of fact, a daily custom. Heroism revealed itself not only in the fighters' exploits, but also in the cook's work, who peeled potatoes under the burning fire of thermite shells. There was heroism in the work of nurses, schoolgirls from Tobolsk—Yegorova, Kalganova, Kalyada, Kasterina, Novikova, and many others who dressed wounds and gave drinks to the wounded in the heat of the battle. Yes, an outsider could discern heroism in every ordinary movement of the men of this division. It disclosed itself when the commander of the platoon of liaison, Hamitzky, sat peacefully on a knoll before the blindage reading fiction as ten German dive-bombers fell screaming upon the earth. Or when the liaison officer, Batrakov, meticulously wiping his spectacles, would put dispatches into his field bag and begin his twelve-mile journey across "the Valley of Death" with such calm that one would think he was going on his usual Sunday hike.

THE Germans decided to storm the works. The world has never known such preparations for the attack. Three days and three nights were turned into a chaos of smoke, fire, and din. Then suddenly everything became silent; heavy and medium tanks, drunken hordes of tommy-gunners and infantry regiments started the attack. They succeeded in penetrating the works; their tanks roared at the walls of the buildings, they cut our defense line, cut off the commanding points of the division and regiments from the advanced line of defense. It appeared that the division that lost its directive center lost its ability to resist; that the command points that fell under the direct blows of the enemy would be destroyed.

But here an extraordinary thing happened: every trench, every blindage, every firing point, and the fortified ruins of the houses turned into fortresses with their own command, their own liaison. Sergeants and privates became commanders skillfully beating off the enemy's attacks. Chamov beat off ten. The huge redbearded commander of the tank who defended Chamov's command point exhausted all his shells and cartridges, then jumped down and felled the German tommy-gunners with stones.

This battle, unprecedented in savagery, continued for several days without slackening. It was not fought from the rows of houses or from the houses alone: the battle went on from every step of the staircase, from every corner in the narrow corridor. Not one man of the division retreated in the battle, and if the Germans occupied some places, it meant that in those places not a single Red Army man remained alive. Everyone fought as this redbearded giant, whose name Chamov could not establish; as the sapper Kosichenko, who drew the pin from the grenade with his teeth because his left hand was broken. It was as if the strength of the dead were transmitted to those alive. Sometimes ten bayonets successfully defended the position of a battalion. Many times the works' building passed from the Siberians to the Germans and then back to the Siberians. And then the curve of the German pressure began to decline. The Siberians had withstood the super-human strain.

Involuntarily one begins to wonder how this great tenacity was forged. It has been molded by national character, by the understanding of a great responsibility, by the silent, deepseated Siberian stubbornness, by excellent military and political training, by rigorous discipline. But I wish to mention other features that played not a small part in this great and tragic feat—that of the strong love that united all men of the Siberian division. Love that bound the men of the division in the sorrow with which they spoke of fallen comrades. I saw it in the touching meeting of the gray Colonel Gurtyev with the battalion nurse Kalganova who returned to the fighting line after her second wound. "Good day, my dear girl," Gurtyev quietly said and with outstretched hands went swiftly to meet her. Only a father can meet his daughter this way. This love and trust of people in one another worked miracles.

The Siberians' division did not retreat from the firing line. It did not turn back even once. It knew: behind was the Volga; behind was the fate of the motherland.

VASSILY GROSSMAN.

Mr. Grossman's magnificent story was translated from the Russian by Andrew J. Grajdansev who also informs us that Colonel Gurtyev, later promoted to Major-General, was killed in the battle of Orel last August—The Editors.

Joseph Stalin, as drawn by Soviet artist P. Vasiliev.

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THE NATURE OF THE COALITION

Earl Browder discusses the fundamentals on which the association of the three leading powers rests. The practical tests whereby we can recognize friends from enemies.

WHEN the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition came into existence it expressed a new sharp turn in world politics. All organs of molding public opinion in Britain and the United States had for years been building a dam of prejudice and misinformation to hold back the flood of demand for unity with the Soviet Union against aggression by the Axis countries. Suddenly the dam was broken, and the coalition came into being, without any large-scale preparation of public opinion.

It was to be expected, therefore, that there should be the greatest confusion and lack of understanding as to the nature of the coalition. What was not to be expected, however, was the tenacity of the anti-Soviet antagonism during two years of war alliance. Crudest, most vulgar, of the misunderstandings of the nature of the coalition is the opinion widely propagated that it is an alliance of convenience, for the moment, of a purely military character, without foundation in any common interests or goals except the purely negative one of defeating the common enemy on the battlefield. This is the view propagated by the American enemies of the coalition, who consider it a mistake which should be cancelled as soon as possible, but who fear openly to speak their mind; they "support" the coalition by denying it any political foundation or lasting value, undermining it therefore, in every indirect way.

Herbert Hoover and like-minded politicos represent this view in its most extreme form in ruling-class circles. Hoover frankly preferred a coalition with Hitler, to destroy the Soviet Union, and even now makes no secret of his program for eventually destroying the Soviet regime.

Closely allied with the Hoover position is that of the Social-Democratic Federation, headed by David Dubinsky, Abe Cahan, and N. Chanin, whose fanatical hatred of the Soviet Union has led them into association with open fascists and anti-Semites. Their position is summed up in the words of N. Chanin, written in January 1942, and indorsed by Dubinsky in April 1943: "The first shot will be fired from free America—and from that shot the Stalin regime, too, will be shot to pieces." This fairly expresses also the attitude of the Norman Thomas Socialists, the Trotskyites, and similar groupings.

This anti-Soviet position, which denies all validity to the coalition, reaches into the Democratic Party and the Roosevelt administration. Not only the Wheelers and Reynolds, who are openly anti-war, take this line. It was most brutally expressed by William C. Bullitt, in his speech of March 11, 1943, which advanced the thesis that Stalin is a donkey to be manipulated with "carrot and club" in the classical tradition of the donkey-driving profession. It is most insidiously applied in practice by Assistant Secretary of State Adolph Berle, Jr., who openly directs the foreign policy of the *New Leader*, organ of the Social Democrats.

THIS review of the anti-Soviet position of the enemies of the coalition, though brief and inadequate, is necessary as a prelude to any serious examination of the real nature of the coalition. We must keep in mind the most widely spread and stubbornly defended misconception of the coalition if we expect to replace it with a realistic and workable conception.

It is not only anti-Soviet trends, however, which endanger the vitality of the coalition. Anti-British agitation has also revived, gaining a new virulence from the backing of the Luce school of American imperialism, which envisages the United States taking over the British Empire as a receiver in bankruptcy. The anti-British and anti-Soviet trends more and more move not only to ally with each other, but to merge into a single camp. The enemies of the coalition cultivate every divisive influence and idea.

One of the most important manifestations of the awakening of ruling-class circles to the deeper meaning and consequences of the coalition is Walter Lippmann's new book, *U. S. Foreign Policy*. Against all varieties of anti-Soviet and anti-British propaganda, Mr. Lippmann develops the thesis of a long-term alliance between the three great powers as the necessary precondition for victory and any sort of tolerable postwar world. Lippmann prides himself upon his ultra-conservatism and cold realism; he is not one who speaks for himself alone, but rather for a whole circle of the upper bourgeoisie. He is one of the most consistent opponents of socialistic trends in the United States. When such persons begin a fundamental reorientation in their world concept, to adjust themselves to long-term cooperative relationships that include the Soviet Union, and place the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition as the central factor determining the reorganization of the world—then we are approaching some understanding of the true nature of the coalition.

It is remarkable that practically all arguments made by Mr. Lippmann for the alliance with the Soviet Union, from the conservative point of view of American interests, are arguments which were as valid in 1933 as in 1943. If some glimmering of their truth had penetrated official circles ten years ago, this might have saved the world the enormous costs of the present war.

Mr. Lippmann arrives at his conclusions with the aid of an ideology which I cannot share. The fact that I can agree in the main, and whole-heartedly, with his conclusions is—to quote Mr .Lippmann's own words about Russian-American relations in the past: "an impressive demonstration of how unimportant in the determination of policy is ideology, how compelling is national interest." In the past I, myself, have frequently written in the same sense. On Dec. 3, 1938, for example, I said: "Today, as never before, the fate of the world depends upon the role that will be played by these two greatest powers in the world [the Soviet Union and the United States]; more than ever this *depends upon the collaboration of these two powers for their common aims*. The Soviet Union and the United States have common problems, common interests, and common enemies. This is the central fact in the new world situation. Upon this foundation it is necessary to find a *program of collaboration* which can effectively unite these two greatest world powers, a program based upon the full recognition of the national interests of all peoples, and uniting them in *a minimum international policy*. . . ."

The Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is the recognition, though belated, of the common problems, common interests, and common enemies of the three great powers. It is the beginning of a serious effort to find a common program.

WHILE emphasizing the far-reaching implications and consequences of the coalition, it is not my desire to overestimate the present degree of its realization. Even as the simplest and loosest military coalition, it still awaits its fruition in the large-scale second front in Western Europe which has so long been on the order of the day. No, the coalition is only in process of creation. Each step in its further development must be taken in struggle against the opposition of accumulated prejudices, inertia, and special interest. Just as the birth of this coalition met such great difficulties that a world catastrophe was required to overcome the resistance, so we must expect that its further development will be only through severe struggles.

How stubborn and fanatical is the opposi-

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tion to alliance with the Soviet Union I, myself, have had occasion to learn on my own skin. A lifetime of agitation for the establishment of socialism in America left me an inconspicuous and ignored person; but three years of active agitation for a realistic alliance between our country and the Soviet Union on the basis of common national interests made me the target of a campaign of calumny and abuse beyond limits. "Unmitigated gall" was the caption given a cartoon by Rollin Kirby in 1938, syndicated in the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, which pictured an unkempt Browder holding up the American and Soviet flags and beckoning for unity between the Kremlin and Washington. Mr. Howard and his kind would have been perfectly content to allow me to agitate for Communism without any protest from them, but when I called for an alliance with the Soviet Union, that was too much, that was "unmitigated gall" which demanded national repudiation. Such violent intolerance is by no means dead, as witness the campaign of calumny against Joseph E. Davies and his film *Mission to Moscow*.

Mr. Lippmann develops a key aspect of the coalition around his descriptive phrase of "nuclear alliance." The triangle of great powers has the peculiar nature that it cannot operate as an alliance *against* other nations, except aggressors, and therefore functions inevitably as a *nucleus* for the gathering of a general society of nations. It is either that or it inevitably breaks up. And it is becoming clearer with every passing day that the breakup of the alliance would doom the world to an indefinite period of wars, that it would cancel not only the independence of nations but the chief fruit of victory over the Axis as well, which is the winning of a prolonged period of peace.

WHAT is the peculiar nature of this coalition that, in contrast with the Axis, prevents it from acting *against* any but aggressor nations? First of all, there is the presence of the Soviet Union. Those who understand that the socialist nature of the Soviet system is an automatic guarantee against any *joint imperialist program*, need no further elucidation. Those who deny that assumption or question it must come to an identical conclusion, however, from simple observation of the facts. British and American rivalry cannot possibly be contained in the coalition unless it is severely curbed; nor could the Soviet Union possibly find its interest in accommodating itself to a joint Anglo-American imperialist partnership. That is an obvious fact to all observers. In that trio of powers there is no possible long-time unity except upon the basis of serious application of the Atlantic Charter, which is a self-denying ordinance, excluding imperialist aims from the joint project, voluntarily adopted *because* it was necessary for that unity.

This negative guarantee of the character of the coalition, that it cannot impose a new imperialist order upon the world, is not, of course, matched by any positive assurance that it will realize the organization of the world for a people's peace. It can conceivably fail to agree and break up, each great power going its own way. It must be taken for granted that agreement will not be easy, in fact will be extremely difficult. There is only one solid reason for expecting the coalition not to break up but to continue to victory and after—that the alternative is an incredible chaos in the world which would strike at the separate national interests, as conceived by their governments, more deeply and immediately than any possible compromise necessary to unity. Not Britain, not the United States, not the Soviet Union, can conceivably bring any immediate stability into the wide world by acting separately, but only in an enduring combination.

THE three leading powers in the United Nations are thus in something of the position of a committee which is locked up until it reaches unanimous agreement. Since failure to reach agreement will bring such heavy penalties, we may expect that however reluctantly and with whatever delays, agreement on the most decisive questions will be reached and in time to avoid the most serious disasters. We are encouraged in the belief that the coalition is a going concern, for war and peace, by the experience of witnessing one by one, even with blundering and delays, the solution of many knotty problems of the war.

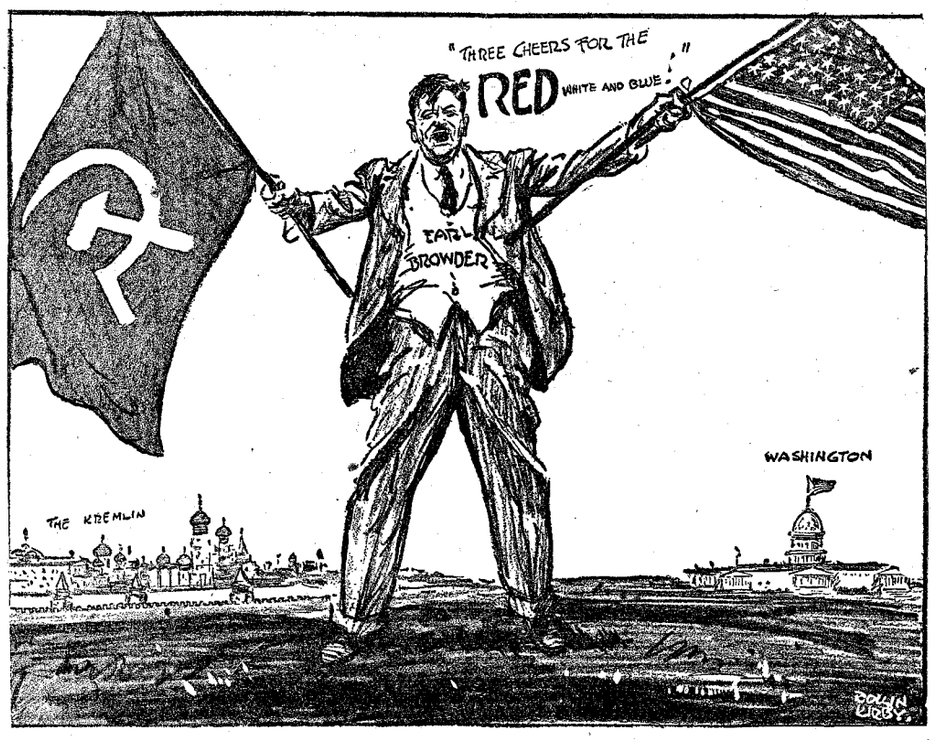
But the coalition will not work automatically. It can be made to work by fighting for it. And nowhere is this truer than in the United States, where we face the greatest threat of the breakup of the coalition.

Unlike Britain and the Soviet Union, the United States has an organized opposition to the coalition which is preparing to bid for power in the 1944 elections, and which is reckless of the consequences of dissolving the coalition.

In the elections of 1940 and 1942, the anti-coalition forces in the United States considerably strengthened their hold on Congress. So much so that today, at the most critical moment of the war, we witness an organized uprising of Congress against the President, against the war program. If the 1944 election continues the trend of the last two Congressional elections, then the coalition may be considered as under sentence of death.

There is no fatality involved, however, in this trend. The last two elections went to the anti-coalition camp by default, because it was united and on the offensive while the coalition forces were apologetic, disunited, and on the defensive. If there is an aggressive and united drive made on behalf of the coalition program, there is not the slightest reason to doubt that an overwhelming majority of the American voters will rally in its support. That is true, however, only on condition that this issue

Unmitigated Gall.



The Scripps-Howard conception (published in 1938) of American leaders who urge closer friendship between this country and the Soviet Union.

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is made the dominant one to which everything else is subordinated. If the struggle is allowed to drift into traditional and subsidiary channels, there is no reason to be hopeful of the final outcome.

It is probably not an exaggeration to say that the fate of the coalition is being decided in the United States in 1943. What happens this year will probably already set the trends for the 1944 elections. That is why the fight for the coalition is not a matter of the future, but an immediate one. The masses of the common people must be won to support the coalition, not only as a matter of general sentiment, but in the form of conscious support for those policies which will make the coalition a living thing.

It is sheer hypocrisy, for example, when the New York *Times* formally supports the coalition in words, but in practice opposes the opening of the second front in Europe in 1943, which alone can confirm the foundations of the coalition.

The anti-coalition camp is elaborately maneuvering to obscure the issue, to dissolve the struggle into confusion and chaos without a clear presentation of the main issue; such confusion furnishes them with the best opportunity to win the election. Thus they all speak publicly, in a formal way, in support of the United Nations, or else, like Hoover, keep silent on the question. They are fully willing to concede the shadow of formally kowtowing before the "ideal" of international solidarity, if they thus are able to win the substance of practical sabotage of the policies which alone can make the ideal a reality.

The coalition must be fully understood, in a practical fashion, by the masses of the voters, so that they can know how their leaders really stand on this issue, despite all hypocrisies and evasions. A few simple tests can be applied which will enormously simplify this problem.

Anyone who suggests that the United States Government should deal with Britain or the Soviet Union by "talking tough," or with the "carrot and club" technique of handling a donkey, or with any variation of the idea that the United States is the "real boss"—such a person can be unconditionally identified as a proponent of breaking the coalition and arriving at a negotiated peace with Nazism. *The coalition is an association of equals*, or it is nothing but the most temporary makeshift which will soon disappear.

Anyone who supports the war "in general" and the United Nations as "an ideal," but who finds a thousand reasons for opposing all practical measures of fighting the war, and for sowing suspicions and hostility against our associates in the leading coalition of the United Nations—such a person belongs to the enemy camp, whatever his motives. The coalition is only as strong as the mutual confidence that exists between its members, and "ideals" are but shadows until they are embodied in practical policies.

The millions of Americans must be armed with such simple and practical tests, by means of which they can begin to separate the sheep from the goats, to know who is really a friend and who is the enemy of the coalition.

Upon an accurate judgment of friends and enemies depends the fate of our country and of the world.

Upon our ability to realize the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition, in war and peace, and to develop all its potentialities depends the future progress of mankind.

EARL BROWDER.

House of All Nations

THE Soviet Union is living proof that the problem of minority peoples can be successfully solved. And looking back over the past twenty-six years one cannot but have the deepest admiration for the way separate nations were welded into one unbreakable unit despite differences in social and cultural patterns. That these nations are now parts of a great whole while maintaining their basic individuality is indeed a tribute to the Soviet government. It is a special tribute to Joseph Stalin who in 1923 said in substance that a real federation of states based on the fullest collaboration of all member peoples must be established or the Soviet Union would go down to sorry defeat at the hands of imperialism. Stalin was right. The people believed him and today, under the onslaught of war, the world has an example of what social cooperation can do for a heterogeneous collection of working folk.

Many governments have had similar minority problems and have tried to meet them in different ways. All sorts of techniques have been employed from gradual assimilation to bloody mass extermination. Needless to say, such methods have not succeeded. Czarist Russia, for example, tried to adjust the same people now so happily a part of the Soviet Union. But instead of humane consideration for the rights of men, czarism resorted to cruelty and pillage and failed miserably.

There are certain positive and fundamental concepts that must be accepted if the matter of minorities within a given government are to be properly handled. There must be an equal social and economic base for all people. An end must be put to exploitation and unwholesome competition. The individual cultural differences must be permitted to remain intact provided they do not come into conflict with the interests of the greater body of people.

When Stalin in 1918 suggested that the separate nations should have federal autonomy based on their characteristics as a people he struck a note that was to spell triumph. This regard for human differences is overlooked by the great imperialist powers of the world and has created strife and conflict between different governments.

There is no Jewish problem in the USSR. The determination of the Soviets to have nothing to do with the inhuman practices followed in other countries is expressed in the decree of August 1918, whereby the USSR gave Jews every right and privilege enjoyed by anyone else. During the Czars' regime thousands of Jews lived almost like slaves. Today they have complete social and economic equality.

At no time has there been any attempt to "Russify" all the component peoples of the Soviet Union. This would have meant failure. Where the need was clearly apparent and the people willing, every means possible was employed to make them more useful to themselves and to become fruitful citizens to their communities. Some of the different republics needed more help than others. But the integrity of the individual nation was preserved along with its culture. Nor was its religion, I might add, touched.

Negroes are accorded equal treatment with any other race in the Soviet Union. This is, unfortunately, more than he receives in America. In the USSR peoples of darker skins are completely welcome and are not discriminated against in matters of social relations, business or government. In a word, then, the Soviet Union has set an example of how minorities can be dealt with. In my belief there is no other solution. Great Britain and the United States will have to face this fact during and after the war.

BEN RICHARDSON.

Rev. Richardson is the Associate Minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church of New York and Religious Editor of the Negro newspaper "The People's Voice."

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AMERICAN VOICES

On a cross-country tour Joseph North finds a deep and abiding admiration for our Soviet ally. The powerful minority that obstructs the road to collaboration.

Greetings and good wishes. I am grateful to the magnificent Red Army. The Red Cross gave me the sweater but you deserve it more. Let's hope it fits. I hope some day soon we may meet in Berlin or Berchtesgaden and I'll buy you a drink to celebrate the United Nations' victory—if you drink.

Very cordially,
PFC Malcolm Nichols.

Los Angeles.

I DON'T know First-Class Private Nichols. I don't know his age, family, religion, disposition, or job. He may have been a butcher, baker, or candlestick maker. Perhaps he studied Adam Smith at Leland Stanford or Shakespeare at the University of California. Maybe he drove a Mack truck down to San Pedro or assembled Flying Fortresses at Lockheed. I don't know. But when I picked up this note he sent to a Red Armyman at a Russian War Relief office in this city I felt I knew him. This American I had seen and heard all across that 3,000-mile-long, winding road from New York to that other corner of the country here in Los Angeles.

"But *is* he typical?" the editor of a leading West Coast daily here in Southern California asked dubiously after we had exchanged off-the-record views on America's thinking about the Soviet Union. "I hope he is," he said. "But I don't know. After all you tell me, I wonder if you're not being somewhat Pollyanna-ish."

At this challenge I began to summarize my views. That there is gratitude and affection for the Red Army across the country is undeniable. "Where would we be if it wasn't for what Russia's done?" That's the expression I heard most commonly. Everybody loves a good fighter, Americans especially do. And it is human to love a good fighter who is fighting *your* fight. I found this in general everywhere, in all byways and Main Streets of the country. Workingmen and businessmen. Negro and white. Jew and Gentile. Particularly among the folk of national minorities. "I agree with you," my friend interrupted, "but that's true as of yesterday and probably today. But tell me, didn't you hear: 'We got to fight Russia next, maybe?' I've heard even soldiers say that."

He drew a diagram of defeatism: Hearst, McCormick, Patterson, the Associated Farmers, the NAM, Dies, Pegler, Wheeler. He mentioned, none too delicately, the Berle nook of the State Department. He dropped his voice a notch and cited "The Church." "And what about the old fears—religion, Communism, boundaries, Finland, the Pact? Don't you think," he asked, "that Dies, Fish, Taft, and the old gang will get their hooks into the body politic and drag us over into the old hate-Russia, isolationist dump?"

I replied that we—he and I—were discussing the people, the vast majority of America. We were not—at that point—evaluating Washington. We were trying to gauge the people's sentiments as of today, October 1943. I too had heard some of the soldiers say, "We may have to fight Russia after this is over." But I would scarcely call it a dominant expression: it is heard, sure, and it reflects dirty work somewhere in the army. But it is certainly not the earmark of the average soldier. Not the majority of soldiers I met. Nor those I was told about by friends of mine across the country who are in uniform today. Their description of the average soldier is much closer to PFC Malcolm Nichols. Not that they are all jamming the doorways of Russian War Relief offices to send sweaters to Red Armymen—but they do not look upon their Soviet ally as a potential enemy. They look upon him as a great friend in need and they don't expect to turn on him when that need is over.

As to the people, I did not hear any considerable concern over religion, Communization, boundaries. These issues do not arise from the overwhelming majority of the 130,000,000. Fear that Russia would bolshevize the world? I got very little of that. Fear that Russia is persecuting the religious? I got the contrary to that. Russia's boundaries? Few people are growing hysterical over this issue so far as I could tell. That we'll have differences with our Russian ally—that they take for granted. *But we must resolve those differences, amicably, at all costs.* That they take as credo. Russia's fought and bled in a way none of the rest of us have, they feel, and she has a damn good right to talk about how the war should be waged and how the peace should be constructed. Above all else, they want agreement for victory—and a world of peace afterward.

THE editor nodded. He said he would not deny the essential truth of this. It corresponded with what he felt and he too had been around recently. But there is more suspicion of the future, he said, than I seem to want to admit. And the old gang is playing on it. But he would not deny the present that I described. That's most likely the way it is today, he said. I replied that I was sure that *is* the way it is today. I say that advisedly: it would be criminal folly to misjudge the nation's temper today. I say it not merely on the basis of what these two eyes and two ears have encountered, but after talks with men who stand in the midst of millions: unionists and their leaders, civic figures, religionists, well-to-do-folk, college students and their professors, a good cross-section of the land save for the rabid Russophobes of the *Social Justice* stripe. This is not, let me hasten to assure you, an effort to discount the work of the latter. They labor mightily these days; they argue with the insistent screech of the hysteric. They are near desperation. They sense the nation's drift and they will stop at nothing to stem it. I believe that's true, and I believe that that's underestimated throughout the land today.

Yes, I said to my friend, progress carries with it a corollary: counter-progress. We must expect the people inimical to a happy future to spare nothing to prevent it. *They* certainly realize the trend is away from isolationism. Even the fossils at Mackinac Island saw that. Right, my friend said. That trend, I replied, connotes collaboration with our allies and that includes Soviet Russia. Right, he said. I cited the Gallup poll figures. He agreed. "Yet," he said, "I fear that the trend can still be reversed."

He has some grounds for uneasiness: substantial sections of the country can be affected by a daily diet of misinformation, libel. No doubt. After all, the Hearst-to-Patterson cabal does reach some ten million readers. After all, we did see how these papers affected a wide enough slice of our public to stir up riots several months ago. The "zoot suit" rioting in Los Angeles, for instance, would probably never have happened had not the Hearst press cooked up hysteria among enough people—soldiers and sailors as well as civilians—against the Mexican populace here. A press which can present a zoot suit as a greater menace than a Schutz-Staffel uniform is something to contend with. I certainly believe we underestimate the power for evil this press possesses: think of it, ten million readers. And though, as I was assured in many places by intelligent observers, these papers are read for their features rather than for their editorials—Mr. Honest American does, unconsciously, imbibe the poison. He turns to the news after relaxing with the football scores. The news is slanted. Indeed yes. The Axis-inspired press has done a job. It is doing one right now. And many radio commentators are no better. They too add to the uproar. Anything to stymie coalition warfare. And you cannot deny that that furor must catch hold in some quarters.

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On all this I agreed with my editor friend. Yet, I continued to insist, the dominant trend is favorable. He wanted my explicit reasons. Well, I said, the moral basis for this war is on our side—democracy's side. It corresponds to the thoroughgoing democratic, humanistic background and training of the American people. It jibes with their patriotic instinct for national self-preservation. Agreed, he said. That, I felt, is something incontrovertible, permanent. He shrugged his shoulders. I said that some things have happened in this war that are indelible. That leave a permanent imprint. "Such as . . .?" he asked. Well, for one thing, gratitude for the performance of the Red Army, of the Soviet Union. He raised his eyebrows.

If you've time to listen, I've time to tell, I said. I explained that one of the articles I had planned to write when I set out on this cross-country tour, was the question of America's feeling toward the Soviet Union. So I stopped off at all Russian War Relief offices on the way across, believing that the response to RWR would be an index. I spoke, too, with educators, labor leaders, newspapermen. Here is but a small part of what I learned; but it reveals, I believe, America's basic attitudes:

A college professor at Berkeley, Calif., told me about his students, most of them middle and upper middle-class youth. A year and a half ago he asked them, in a questionnaire about the war, which of the United Nations was making the major contribution to victory. The answer invariably began: "United States, Great Britain, China" . . . sometimes they mentioned Russia. Sometimes they didn't. Today, he told me, all answers begin with Russia. . . . I cited the remarkable success of the tour of the two noted representatives of Soviet culture, Prof. Solomon Michoels and Lt. Col. Itzik Feffer, reverberations of which I encountered all the way across. . . . In Hollywood I learned at Warner Brothers that more than thirty million Americans had seen *Mission to Moscow;* a remarkable attendance, I was told, considering "that there was no love story in it." That the attendance was good in the smaller communities as well as in the urban centers. That it was considered the most successful picture of its kind. That despite efforts of reactionary groups, not one community anywhere was scared off from showing the film.

I told him how the Southern Baptist Church had promised Russian War Relief to fill 100,000 kits to send to the Red Army. . . . That even in his own state of California, despite the fuming of Congressman Jack Tenney and the furious Soviet-baiting of the four powerful Hearst papers, in San Diego alone, for instance, two carloads of clothing were collected to send to Russia . . . that the Boy Scouts did the "pick-up" and the fire department let their houses be used as depots . . . that in Cleveland the firehouses used as depots for collections of clothes were so jammed that the hook-and-ladder apparatus had to be moved out into the street to make room . . . that it was that way all over the land . . . that the coast radio program for Russian War Relief had brought thousands of letters, including many from distant farmers writing from Oregon, Washington, the Plains States, North Dakota, Idaho. Letters such as this: "I would like to hear more about Russia. I understand if I write I will get an answer. What are Russian farmers like?" . . . That more than a million letters came in from all over the country . . . that Governor Andrew F. Schoeppel of Kansas supported a state-wide drive to send $6,000 worth of wheat to the Ukraine with this official statement: "We Kansans, who produce more than fifty percent of all the hard red winter wheat of America, remember that the first seed was sent us from Crimea by the Russians. It seems most appropriate that Kansas should now return the gift in order that the present war-scorched fields of Crimea may once more be turned to food production for the sustenance and strengthening of our Russian allies. . . ." That in San Diego a group of marines, recently returned from combat areas, helped trade unionists to fill several carloads of clothing. They saw the job through to the end although they had to work by automobile headlights . . . that in Springfield, Mass., fifteen Roman Catholic parishes brought clothing contributions for RWR to Sunday mass . . . that every city in the state of Rhode Island had participated in the "Write to Russia" campaign . . . the people of Providence compared notes with the people of Kuibyshev; the textile workers in Pawtucket are writing to their opposite numbers in the Ivanova cotton mills . . . that the famous resort town of Newport adopted Malo Yaroslavets, the picturesque country town where the people of Moscow vacationed in better times . . . that six five-minute radio transcriptions entitled "Letter to an Ally" have been broadcast more than 4,000 times during one month by 123 radio stations . . . that in Richmond, Va., the clothing campaign got such a response that seventy-nine army trucks were called in to help haul the stuff to shipping points . . . that Archbishop Cantwell of the Roman Catholic Church of Los Angeles endorsed the Write to Russian campaign . . . that the Catholic Women's Clubs there did likewise . . . that the fisherman's unions of San Pedro voted a day's catch of fish in the "Fill a Ship" campaign last spring....

I could go on like this all day long, I told my friend. These are but a sparse few of similar happenings in the country. I told him that here, in his own state, Carey McWilliams had said to me that Senator Hiram Johnson—should he run today for re-election—would be defeated. That he, McWilliams, had attended a meeting of women's clubs where Johnson's policies were excoriated by one of the women—and she was cheered to the echo. And women's clubs have rarely been described as strongholds of radicalism. And remember, too, it was Hi Johnson who said recently: "I am going to die. But I am going to die fighting Joe Stalin."

I didn't have to go into detail on the sentiment within labor ranks for closer collaboration with Russia. He agreed to that before I got five words of the sentence out of my mouth. Despite the officialdom of the AFL, he knew that millions of rank-and-file workingmen wanted close friendship with the Soviet Union. Nor did I need to go into detail on the question of Jewish feeling for the Soviet Union. Or the Slavic and European minorities in the country. Or the Negroes. I couldn't, however, help telling him about the Negro in San Fran-

Clothes for the Russian people from Macon, Ga., boys and girls.

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cisco who said to me with a twinkle in his eye: "I like that man Stalin. Good fighting man. After all, he's a Georgian, like me."

I cannot disagree with my friend that a slice of America can be cut away from the majority's work-with-Russia attitude. But my belief is that the majority cannot. Will not. Too much blood has run under the bridge—and most of it Russian blood. They want good relations with Russia—with all our allies. But especially with Russia. (As a matter of fact, I encountered more anti-British sentiment across the country than anti-Russian.) The same majority want good relations with *all* their allies. They believe the government is going to get them those good relations. Should policy take an opposite turn, I believe the majority of the people will hold the government responsible. They are weary of wars every few decades, determined that their children won't go through another holocaust. It is significant that nobody I ran into said, as I used to hear, "We'll always have wars. That's the way man is." They don't believe that today. They believe wars can be stopped. They saw that isolationism after World War I did not save us; they want to try internationalism. Collaboration—coalition—perforce includes the Soviet Union. That's implicit . . . and explicit . . . in their attitude today. "It's that faith in the administration's foreign policy that tides us over the difficulties in domestic policy," a Chicago clergyman said to me. They believe that Darlanism was an exception, that the main emphasis in foreign policy is toward recognition of the peoples. That's what I gathered from talks with men like Atty. Gen. Robert W. Kenney, of California, with Mayor Loesche, of Cleveland, labor leaders of both AFL and CIO across country, as well as from the rank-and-file.

HOWEVER, this I did find and it cannot be blinked. The very people I cite have not yet realized that full coalition means coalition warfare: that that adds up to striking the enemy from both sides simultaneously. The second front is *not* clearly understood as *the* vital, crucial issue of our day. Not that they oppose it; they don't. But they're not *crusading* for it. They are not, by and large, strengthening the President's hand on this issue. They simply assume that the top command knows best and will work it out to our satisfaction. They lack awareness of the powers working to block coalition warfare. They want to fulfill our commitments to our ally: they'd be ashamed to feel that we have welched on our fighting friend. If they felt that, a great outcry would arise from America. They don't—as yet—see along which road their full obligation lies.

It seems to me that labor especially must talk up. Resolutions from all unions understanding the crucial issue of coalition warfare are imperative. All the ingredients are here for the wholehearted support of genuine partnership on the front lines. More unions must talk out like the California CIO Council the other day, at its state conference in Fresno, where Harry Bridges demanded that the allies "make good on the commitment to open a second front in Europe." This sort of thing is essential to coalesce all the favorable factors.

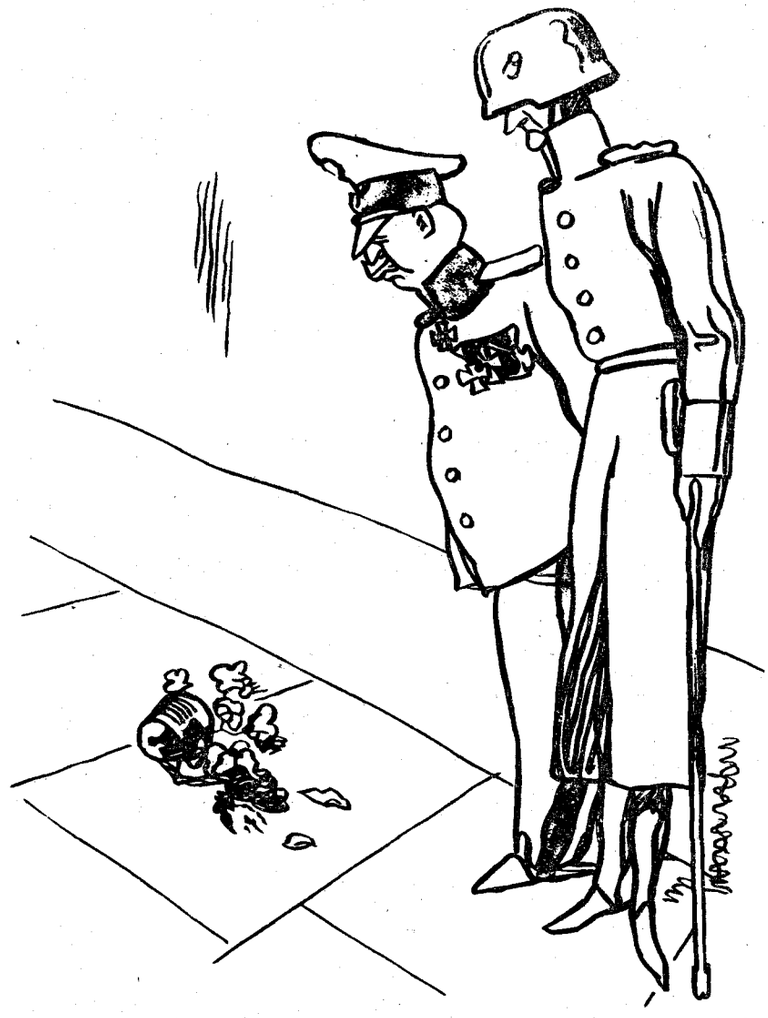
My editor friend agreed with me that the way we go into the peace depends on the way we fight the war. That's not hard to get. But the cross-channel invasion, the drawing off of fifty or so divisions from the East, was not in the forefront of his thinking. Nor in that of too many other good Americans.

And remember this: the pro-Axis press is passing its resolutions. I saw that all across America. Editorials, special writers, cartoons, slanted news stories. Yet their Pacific First propaganda has not caught on, that I am certain of. But if the war should drag on . . . if there is no rapid decision via the second front . . . millions will, I fear, be affected. . . .

WHEN my friend and I finished talking, he suggested we go down and have a drink. As we went out we found the streets jammed with people. The army marched; infantrymen swung along jauntily. Marines, sailors, WACS, WAVES. A big fine parade for the War Chest. White soldiers, Negro. My friend and I shouldered our way to the curb. A group came by bearing the flags of the United Nations. First, the Stars and Stripes. Then the Union Jack.

Then came a detachment bearing the flag of the Hammer and Sickle. A tall, neatly-dressed man with several kids at his side stood by, head bared. When the Soviet flags approached we heard him say quietly: "Now, boys, pay attention. Here come the flags of a very great nation." I glanced at my friend, the editor, caught his eye. He had heard it all right. He smiled back at me, then shrugged his shoulders. Afterward at the bar he asked: "I wonder if that man there was typical."

JOSEPH NORTH.



Brodati in the Soviet Press

In Occupied Czechoslovakia: "I'd advise you to wear a steel helmet, Your Excellency. The population often meets us with flowers."

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BUILDING US-USSR FRIENDSHIP

A symposium answering the question "How can closer relations be welded?"

Gov. Robert O. Blood

New Hampshire

IT IS unfortunate that in our present relationship to the USSR our knowledge of Russian history and of the Russian people is so limited. Like other peoples of the world, however, we must offset this deficiency with such resources as we have. Let us remember, too, that the very existence of civilization and our prized part in it is dependent upon finding grounds upon which we can cooperate with other peoples and their governments. This necessity is especially urgent in regard to friendship and cooperation between the USA and the USSR.

I believe that we can best weld a bond of friendship between our two countries by an epidemic awareness of its necessity, a knowledge, culled from the printed and spoken words of representative Americans who are capable and acknowledged, though unofficial, ambassadors between the two nations, and in the faith on which all human cooperation must rest.

Max Weber

Artist

IT IS disheartening to find it necessary after Stalingrad, Sevastopol, Kharkov, to ask, "How can closer cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union be built?" What stronger and more appropriate foundation for closer cooperation and understanding can one ask for? The very thought of these cities and what they symbolize should make this and similar questions ludicrous in this war-torn and bleeding world. An ally that contributed so much toward the destruction of German fascism must indeed be brought closer to us. We have much in common and much to give to each other.

I believe that closer cooperation and confidence between our two great countries can be brought about through the medium of exchange ambassadors of culture apart from the customarily appointed ambassadors for the transaction and guardianship of political and commercial affairs. Through exchange art exhibitions, plays, musical festivals, lectures on science, technology, and sociology, the people of our two great nations would get to understand and esteem each other far sooner and better than through our foreign newspaper correspondents, syndicated columnists, writers of editorials and magazine articles. Cultural and humanitarian intercourse would nullify the art and expediency of making the news "fit to print."

Let us hope that the time is not far off when an international people's newspaper will be edited and published by exchange ambassadors of culture, for only through such publications can peace, cooperation, and happiness be made possible and permanent. And if it is at all possible, wider circulation of the invaluable Bulletin of Information published by the Russian Embassy in Washington, D. C., would go a long way toward disseminating authentic news and other facts concerning the Soviet Union and its heroic people.

A. F. Whitney

President, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen

THE Soviet Union has been in existence for twenty-six years, but diplomatic relations between that country and our own were established only ten years ago. Within the past decade and particularly since June 22, 1941, when Hitler's invasion of Russia began, the USA and the USSR have drawn closer together in the struggle against fascism.

This is not an accidental relationship, but rather a reflection of the real interests of both countries in establishing a peaceful and prosperous world order. Recent frantic efforts on the part of certain elements still tainted with the spirit of Munich to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and the United States have only emphasized the fact that there are no differences between the two great powers that cannot be resolved through friendly consultation.

American war material has found its way to the Eastern Front via lend-lease, and no one can say that the Red Army has not, in turn, "delivered the goods." The continuance of such cooperation will spell victory over the common enemy.

Sen. Arthur Capper

Kansas

HOW can closer cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union be built? On the positive side, by a clearer understanding by the people, and particularly by the leadership of each, that the peoples of both countries are earnestly trying to work out a system of government and way of life that will bring about more opportunities, better living conditions, better education, better understanding, and what we call the dignity of the individual, for all their own people. Also appreciation by Americans that the Russians are better qualified to accomplish these ends for Russia, than are Americans; and vice versa. The freest possible exchange of goods, services, information, and cultures.

On the negative side, a realization and acceptance as facts that (1) Russia is better qualified to deal with the problems created by other nations in her neighborhood than is the United States; and (2) that the United States is better qualified to deal with the problems created by other nations in the Western Hemisphere than is Russia.

The extent to which the Soviet Union and the United States can cooperate in maintenance of world peace and the spread of a world civilization will depend largely upon the understanding and acceptance of these basic principles.

Fritz Mahler

Symphony Conductor

MUSIC, a universal language, has created mutual understanding between nations throughout history. I feel therefore, that a systematic exchange of concert and opera artists, teachers and musical compositions would definitely bring about a closer, sympathetic relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union. This is not a new idea, but the difference between its success and failure is in the word "systematic."

It would be easier to arrange for the American artist to appear in the USSR than the reverse, since the Soviet government could extend a direct invitation. In the absence of such a possibility here in America, I would like to propose the formation of a committee to act as a musical clearing house. This committee could contact the major conductors, managers of concert series, and universities throughout the United States. Such organizations as the New York Philharmonic, the Boston Symphony, the Philadelphia Orchestra or the Metropolitan Opera, etc., would probably be interested in extending invitations to Soviet conductors, singers or instrumentalists. The committee would then try to line up the dates so that each artist would have a series of concerts within a limited period of time. The committee would also act as a clearing house for the exchange of guest teachers and of musical compositions.

I feel that this plan would probably gather impetus as it progressed and that there would be a steady interchange of artists who, through their music, would develop a deeper and closer understanding between our great nation and the Soviet Union.

Sen. James E. Murray

Montana

THE answer, the most truthful and effective answer, is now being given by America's fighting forces in their struggle against the common enemy of the Soviet Union and America. The answer, the most glaring answer, is being given by our men and women in the mines, mills, factories, shipyards, and on the farms, where the weapons are being forged, the food being produced to be shipped to the Eastern battlefields to help the Russian brave men and women decimate the evil forces of the Nazi barbarians—the enemies of both our countries, the enemies, indeed, of all civilized mankind.

The vast majority of our American people fully appreciate Russia's great contribution to the defeat of the would-be world conquerors. But there is a small minority, a vicious and stupid minority in the field of journalism and other lines of endeavor, which is constantly hurling invectives against our loyal and brave allies, the Russians. They do not represent America's true attitude towards Russia. They are not serving the best interests of America; they are be-

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traying the cause for which our young men are shedding their blood. Every decent American should shun such people, the disturbers of harmonious relations between our two countries.

And it would be well for the Russian government and people to ignore the voice of the slanderers and misinformers. Suspicion must be banished on both sides. Mutual trust and confidence must become the rule in the relations between the two countries. Next to Canada and Mexico, Russia is our closest neighbor—a bare fifty-five miles across a narrow strip of water. We can, we must and should—and I am sure we will—live in friendship with the great people of Russia.

The recently inaugurated compulsory study of English in the Russian primary schools is a great step in the direction of cementing closer ties with our democracy. America should follow this splendid example. More and more commercial and cultural and scientific intercourse between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Americans now and after the war should be encouraged by both governments.

The spirit of friendship and cooperation now being practiced in the common struggle against a ruthless enemy should be continued and cultivated for all time to come. Today we are comrades in the common cause of bringing victory to the democracies. Tomorrow we should continue to be comrades in the struggle with the elements of nature in order to bring prosperity and happiness and true culture to the peoples of the United States and those of the Soviet Union.

It can be done, it must be done, and no power on earth should be permitted to swerve us from our righteous course.

Henry N. Wieman

President, Divinity School, Univ. of Chicago

ONE of the most important things that can be done to promote cooperation between these two peoples is to prepare Americans for the time of most acute danger that will arise after the war. That time will come when Americans see that they are losing and Russia is winning in the struggle to influence Germany and, with Germany, the rest of Europe. Naturally Americans will want Germany to have our kind of social order and the Russians will want it to have theirs. Russia will win because Germany and Russia are bound together by the demands of industrial production. What is required for the full release of industrial production is the most coercive demand in the modern world. Therefore Germany and with Germany all of Europe will go in the direction which industrial production requires, namely, into close affiliation with Russia. Distribution of natural resources, technology, labor, technicians, and human need cannot here be analyzed, but they all point to the conclusion just noted.

If we can pass this time of suspicion, bitterness and disappointment which may arise among the American people when they see Germany and Europe generally coming under the hegemony of Russia, the greatest danger to American-Russian cooperation will have been passed. Therefore we must make known as widely as possible that the outcome above noted will ensue, not because of the devilish machinations of Moscow, not because Stalin wants to rule Europe, not because conspirators are trying to promote a world-revolution, but simply because the requirements of industrial production drive the peoples in this direction.

Zlatko Balokovic

President, National Council Americans of Croatian Descent

SOVIET RUSSIA'S contribution to the inevitable victory of the United Nations and the elimination of the Nazi-fascist drive for world conquest open doors into a future that stirs the hearts of all men of good will in America and the USSR. These two great and powerful states realize that much as their very existence depends upon victory, it depends no less upon laying the foundations for a future in which man's creative efforts will be devoted to developing a civilization that will bring to humanity a richer and fuller life.

America and Soviet Russia are singularly fitted to work together in achieving this great end in human destiny because it is envisioned and enshrined in the hearts of their people who have faith in the fineness of the common man. To realize this goal each of us must bend his whole effort to end the reign of ignorance, suspicion, and fear which has for so long prevented both countries from achieving a better understanding of those fundamental principles which are the driving forces of these two great nations.

In America, as in Russia, education is the prerogative and obligation of every citizen. Therefore, if we will make the effort to acquaint ourselves with the struggle of both peoples to rise from oppression to enjoyment of equal opportunity, the realization of our common spiritual kinship will be the best guaranty of a world based upon mutual respect, understanding and cooperation—envisioning the welfare of all mankind as its ultimate goal.

Sophonisba Breckinridge

Professor, Public Welfare Administration, Univ. of Chicago

IT OUGHT to be possible for two nations to live in peace and harmony however different their general aims and methods of public organization and their general bases of conduct, so long as both practice good faith and are frank as to their purposes and programs. The Jesuitical doctrine that the end may justify the use of indirect means will, however, inevitably lead to misunderstanding, resentment, and defensive measures. There has been a widespread belief that the communist ethic justified this fear and therefore, some, who rejoiced in the overthrown cruelty of czarist tyranny, have been disappointed that the new regime did not allay the fear expressed in the old question, "Who can be happy and free in Russia?" To those to whom the revolution in Russia seemed to bring new hope, the rapprochement now among Britain, the United States, and Russia arouses again the sincerest hope of a permanent relation of good will and universal concern for the common man.

Ben Probe

Secretary-Treasurer, Michigan CIO Council

IN DISCUSSING such an extremely important question as the relationship that should exist between the United States and the Soviet Union, many things must be considered, and honestly and plainly discussed. In my opinion, one of the greatest reasons for misunderstanding is a lack of knowledge of the true state of affairs as they exist in the Soviet Union regarding a democratic form of government, the position of the trade unions, and the USSR's attitude toward other nations.

Since the revolution in Russia, many interpretations have been placed upon her great experiment and Russia's attempt to set up a new society. That she must have succeeded to a great extent has been proved by her magnificent defense of her country when recently attacked by Germany.

Closer cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union depends on a greater understanding by America of Russia's problems, as well as a desire on the part of those forces in America who do not wish a change of any society which will benefit the great masses of any nation.

W. Horsley Gantt

Director, Pavlovian Laboratory, Johns Hopkins Medical School

OF THE three or four world powers to emerge after the present war it is now evident that the USA and the USSR will be among these. Even the most skeptical are now willing to believe that the Soviet Union is a force which cannot be neglected in any plan for war or for peace. Prejudice and exaggerated statements about the Soviet Union by opposite groups have resulted in frustrating confusion. Actually we see in the Russia of today a youthful vigorous nation trying for the first time in its recent history self-government, a stupendous internal experiment in which 200 million people are participating. Neither to be ignored nor feared, this experiment is well worth our study. Had there been less ignorance of Russia there might have been closer cooperation that would have prevented the second World War. There are now rumors preparing the ground for an unwarranted fear of Russia as an aggressive world power, but the fact that she must be concerned for the next generation with her own problems of internal development and her self-sufficiency make it unlikely that she will become an external aggressor.

An important way to further understanding—necessary in the foundation for world peace and progress—is through an exchange of students, scientific, political, and sociological. Knowledge engendered by first hand information resulting from sojourn in a country promotes tolerance and lays the foundation for mutual respect and the recognition of international problems. A means of providing serious students from both Russia and the USA, whether in or out of academic circles, the possibility of visiting, working, and studying in the other country would be one of the greatest opportunities for the cultivation of a gradually developing rapprochement which would go a long way toward cementing Soviet-American friendship as well as laying the basis for international harmony. Obviously any method, to be successful, must apply to both countries, but owing to the economic position of this country we could perhaps better take the initiative.

Pauline Koner

Dancer

THE Soviet Union is a nation with a great past, a great present, and a great future in the field of the dance. We in America are certainly proving that we, too, are a nation of dancers, making dance history in which I know Russia is avidly interested. During the year and a half which I spent concertizing in the Soviet Union, I was constantly besieged by dancers and

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bombarded with questions about the "American Dance." The lively discussions which followed the request performances which I gave for the ballets both in Moscow and Leningrad showed that the Russian dancers keep themselves well informed about our activities. However, information trickles through very haphazardly and I feel that an organized effort for the exchange of dancers, teachers, films, books, and specially written articles would be very helpful.

The Russians as a whole are primarily interested in ballet, and forms stemming from the ballet. There are, however, groups interested in the more modern school of dancing. At a course which I gave at the Stalingrad Institute of Physical Culture I found both the faculty and students actively interested in developing a freer, more plastic and more dynamic style of movement. I also found that there was lively interest in such forms of dancing as jazz, tap, and Spanish. As for ballroom dancing, the Russian people are never too tired for that and they are fascinated by the ease and flow of the American style.

I feel that there should be a systematic exchange of material such as: a special series of articles written by leading dancers and choreographers, collections of programs, program notes, reviews of dance performances, and similar data connected with all types of dance. The dancers in America would certainly cooperate in sending all available material and would be delighted if the Russian dancers would do the same so that there would be a constant interchange of ideas and sympathies.

Thelma Nurenberg

Journalist and Lecturer

I HAVE recently returned from a speaking tour and the questions asked me following my talks on Russia indicate the extent to which the professional anti-Sovieteers have succeeded in their campaign of villification and malicious distortion of facts concerning the Soviet Union. These writers were confident that Hitler's hordes would do with steel what they were endeavoring to achieve with lies, and consequently they dismissed the first Soviet victory as a miracle performed by General Winter!

But as these miracles persisted and became the order of the day, these panderers, fearful that the growing popularity of the Soviet people would call for a new evaluation of Soviet life and thus expose them, took a cue from Berlin and launched a campaign designed to arouse suspicion and hostility. This is reflected in the questions now being asked me—questions that are as divisive as they are insulting to our Soviet ally.

But there are hopeful factors, too, for everywhere, in the industrial belt of Ohio and in the mining towns of Pennsylvania, Americans are asking me why were these prophets of Russia's doom so consistently wrong? Americans want to know why the Russians are "consecrating the soil with their dead bodies rather than surrender it living," and they are beginning to realize that Russians are *willing to die* to preserve a way of life and a government they believe in.

To know the real facts about our Soviet ally is to understand their epic fight, and this paves the way for an enduring peace that yellow journalists cannot corrode with their lies. Just as the Soviet-haters were given every facility to create the misunderstanding that became the main obstacle to collective security and thus made war inevitable, so should all officials of public organization be urged to give an opportunity to those writers and lecturers who know the real truth about the Soviet Union to present it. Judging by the interest evinced by groups formerly hostile to and misinformed on the Soviet Union, I am convinced that an exchange of students, trade union delegations, and of other mass organizations would make for the understanding and peace that is so essential if civilization is to survive.

Louis Adamic

Author, President Committee of United South Slavic Americans

CLOSER cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union can be built by straightening out our ideas about each other. The "Red Menace" of Russia and the "capitalist-imperialism" of America are bogeys hiding the common attributes and purposes of the two countries. Our interests and Russia's do not clash at any point. We are after the same things, and can learn a lot from each other. Both countries are new, large, relatively undeveloped, both have populations of mixed racial, religious, national, cultural backgrounds. Both are formally dedicated to the same ultimate goal: equalization of opportunity for all citizens; government of the people, by the people, for the people.

We can increase mutual understanding by dealing with Russia directly, instead of through Britain, as we have been doing lately. Our relationship should be that between one great power and another. It ought not to be chaperoned any longer by Downing Street. We must find out first-hand our similarities and points of variance. The Russians are realists, cutters of red tape, unafraid of the future. So, as a people, are we Americans. It shouldn't be too hard for us to get together with them.

By force of hard fact and against our preconceptions, we have acquired an enormous admiration for Russians at war. Hard facts pave the road to peace, and it is thorny and difficult at best. It will be impassable if we ambush each other on the way. We will get where we want to go much quicker if we go along arm-in-arm.

Joseph Curran

President, National Maritime Union

AS A trade unionist I am convinced that a firm basis for lasting friendly relations between the United States and the Soviet Union can best be built through international labor unity. The CIO has long been urging the creation of an international labor body that would include the great unions of our Soviet ally which have contributed immeasurably to the tremendous Soviet offensives. It is unfortunate that the AFL has to date failed to recognize the great benefits that would be derived by the working people of the world through such a key international body, to say nothing of the inevitable vast improvement in mutual understanding that would result. Without such mutual understanding among the ranks of world labor no amount of diplomatic relations at the top can adequately produce the close ties between our two countries that are so vital to the future peace and welfare of the world.

The decades of anti-Soviet smears in America are only now beginning to be slowly refuted, despite the frantic sixth column press. A frequent exchange of trade union and cultural delegations between our two countries will help further hasten wider public understanding of the Soviet Union and a better appreciation of the gigantic strides it has made under the leadership of Joseph Stalin.

On the occasion of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the Soviet Union, I want to state on behalf of the 50,000 members of the National Maritime Union that unless broad efforts are initiated here for great cooperation with the heroic Soviet people, we are not going to have the kind of postwar world we hope will come out of this war.

Harry Grundfest

Secretary, American Association of Scientific Workers

THE Soviet Union is a great power, militarily perhaps the greatest among the United Nations. It can no longer be treated with the hostile toleration of prewar years. In this sense, therefore, American-Soviet cooperation is already in large measure a fact. Our aim, however, must also be to establish a cooperation built upon mutual friendship, respect, and, above all, on the realization that American-Soviet cooperation is a necessity which will return many benefits to both our countries. From my contacts with Soviet scientists I feel that they and the entire Soviet people already realize this and are eager for the closest possible cooperation with the United States. American-Soviet cooperation therefore becomes essentially a problem for the American people. It depends on our realization that cooperation is of the utmost urgency for the national welfare of both countries.

To a scientist, one of the most striking benefits we can derive is to learn from the Soviet Union how to achieve the organizational efficiency which she has demonstrated in constructing a nation capable of stupendous military achievements. It is now clear that the Soviet Union, starting with a backward economy and technique, has been able to develop—and in less than three five-year plans—a large body of scientists and technicians equal to the best in the world, whether in public health, or chemistry, or engineering. The Soviet Union is a world leader in producing synthetic rubber; its transportation system is performing miracles; its industry has withstood the shock and destruction of surprise invasion and of hurried evacuation, and still has been able to produce enough to enable the Red Army to defeat the Nazis.

In comparison with Soviet achievements, our American war effort has only just begun to roll after a respite of two years granted us by the Red Army and the Soviet people. This is in the face of the fact that our war effort operates from an industrial and technical base many times larger than that of the Soviet Union. On the basis of practical achievement, therefore, Soviet economy and technique are proving themselves more efficient than those of the United States or of Great Britain.

The American people and those of Great Britain are coming to evaluate this remarkable efficiency of the Soviet organization and are beginning to seek its causes. They are discovering an answer in the program of comprehensive national planning which the Soviet Union instituted for the first time in history. In working out a planned national and international way of life the Soviet Union can help and teach us, just as we can help and teach the Soviet Union. The growing realization of this mutual benefit is the soundest possible basis for American-Soviet cooperation.

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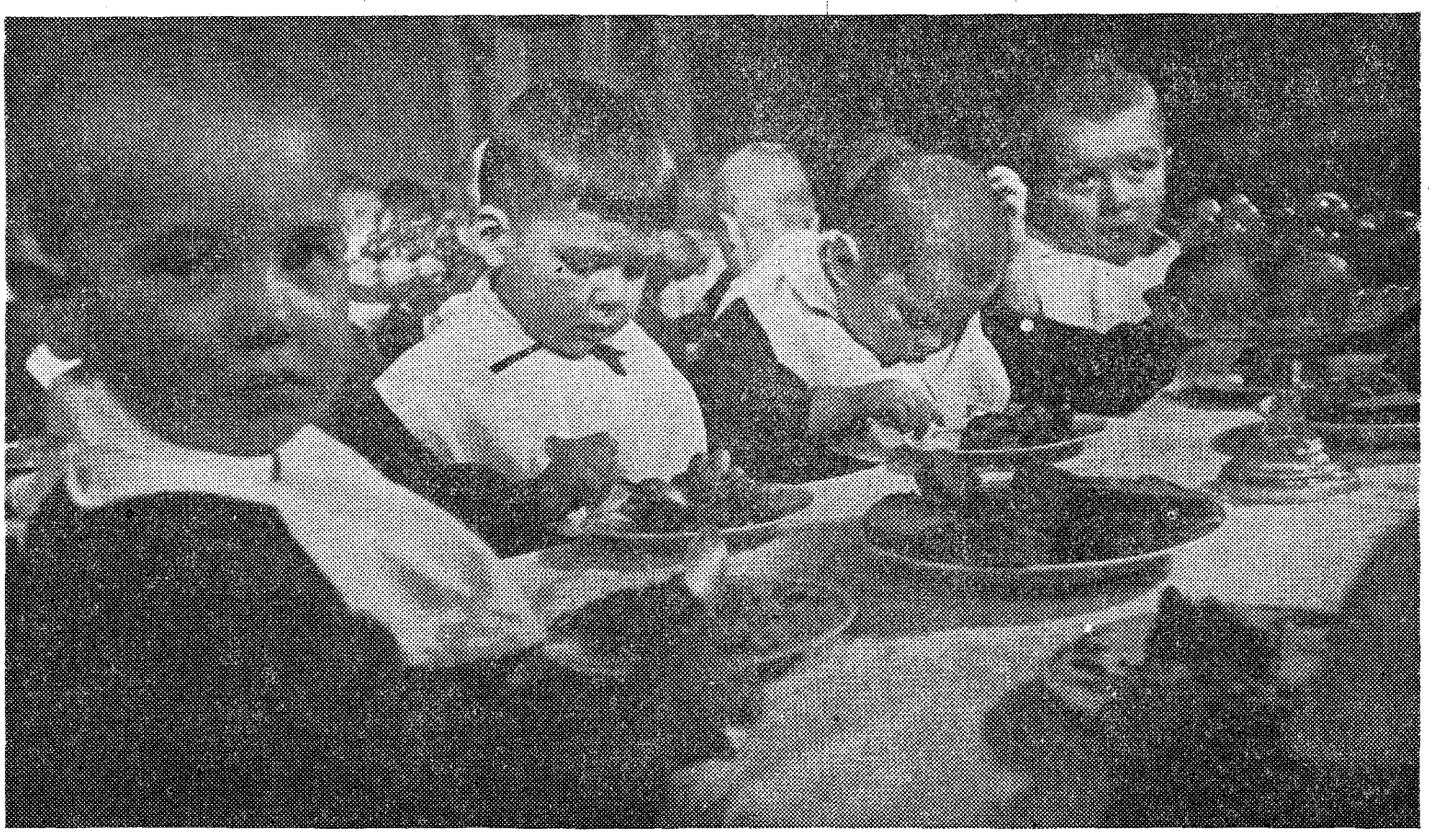

Mealtime for the children of workers in a Moscow rubber factory.

SOVIET MORALS AND MORALITY

Where human relationships and laws grow out of the needs and desires of the people, and self-interest coincides with common good. The Russian family. By Harry F. Ward.

To most people the term morality at once suggests sex relations. Loose morals, immorality, mean violation of traditional standards of sex behavior. A companion fact is the amount and kind of emphasis given to sex on the screen, stage, and printed page. These things are symptoms of what the English historian Tawney called "the sickness of the acquisitive society."

In the socialist society of the Soviet Union sex has the normal place that belongs to it in all creative living. It is not for sale at the box office or the publishers, and there are no advertising agencies to promote its exploitation. The predatory male, the over-sexed, uninhibited female, are diminishing types. A society built on creative labor produces fewer of them, and its social disciplines curb their self expression as anti-social. One of the dramatic incidents of the war was that of the flyer—a Hero of the Soviet Union—who heard from his girl that the manager of the plant was threatening her with discharge if she did not yield to him. At once he went AWOL with his plane, gave the scoundrel a good thrashing, then reported him to the authorities who promptly fired him. Returning to his base, the flyer reported to answer for desertion in the face of the enemy, punishable, of course, with death. He was just as promptly pardoned.

Of the many lies told about the Soviet Union in the past twenty-five years, one of the most potent in creating hostility is the lie that it destroys the family. There was a tiny minority of early Communists, as there has been among social revolutionaries of all schools in all lands, who interpreted into terms of promiscuity the freeing of relations between the sexes from the degrading hand of money-making. But under the castigating attack of Lenin, who put them lower than certain forms of animal life, their influence was destroyed.

The last time I was in the Soviet Union, it was my judgment, after closely observing the attitudes and behavior of its youth, that it was moving into a higher development of the monogamous family than capitalist society had been able to reach. This because the economic independence and equality of opportunity given to woman remove the compulsions, the insincerities and hypocrisies, imposed and developed by the economic superiority of man, and thus make constancy natural and desirable. The Dean of Canterbury recently reached the same conclusion, remarking that what had been removed was the economic family, which depends upon male dominance. In its place is coming the creative family, in which husband, wife, and children from high school age are bound together not only by the ties of natural affection, but by the bond of participation in a common enterprise—the building of socialism.

In the early history of morals the two main concerns are the protection of property and the safeguarding of human life. As moral standards in these matters become set they get translated into law. But statutes can never for long get enforced beyond the level of public morality. In the Soviet Union the great change from private to public ownership of the means of production and distribution required a corresponding change in the morals of property. The severe penalties that protect the property of the state from careless or willful injury by workers or managers would not avail unless the people had as much interest in protecting the common property as they have in safeguarding their personal possessions.

Through their experience in using and planning the use of the national plant, and in enjoying the full results of their labor, Soviet citizens have found out that the national resources and the national plant belong to them, not to an overhead state. So

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they have learned a new morality of property. Its essence is "what's ours is mine." To behave accordingly is to the younger generation as natural as to breathe the air. But at first it had to be learned. I was there in the hard days when peasants ingrained with the habits of the exploited were coming to work in the factories and state farms. At first they worked only for wages and talked about the management as "they." Then the older workers would say: "Where do you think you are, you talk like a stranger: this is ours."

The first landmark in the development of moral standards for the protection of human life was the substitution of community-controlled vengeance—"An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth"—for the unlimited private vengeance of the blood feud which was decimating the tribe. From that mankind has gone on through the abolition of torture and "unusual forms of punishment," and attempts to limit the cruelty and destructiveness of war, to the abolition of capital punishment by some communities. The life of the individual has naturally come to have a higher value where economic resources and social organization give it more opportunity to develop than where great numbers live in semi-starvation and are frequently destroyed by famine, flood, and disease.

The value that the Soviet Union places upon human life is shown first in the care it gives to children and the development it provides for them. In the early days, when food was scarce, children came first. In the first section of Stalingrad to be rebuilt, the agencies of child welfare are located and operating. In the Soviet armies men are not cannon fodder. No lives are needlessly sacrificed, and no one dies in voluntary sacrifice without knowing exactly what he is dying for, in the long run, as well as at the moment. Prisoners of war, like the Soviets' own offenders against the law, are educated to become new persons where this appears to be possible. But for those responsible for the bestialities committed against the people of occupied villages, towns, and cities there is no mercy. This is not vengeance but the judgment that society is not safe while they are alive. In the days before order was established they would shoot two or three of a gang of criminals as a warning that crime did not pay and put the rest on "a new road to life," with all the techniques of the most advanced criminology. The same procedure was followed with the wreckers and traitors of the famous trials. Here is a combination of moral idealism and moral realism. The safety of the community is put above any abstractions about the supreme value of human personality. In time of war the Western nations also do this.

Standards of sex behavior, protection of property and life constitute the preventive aspect of morality. On its constructive side it upholds certain virtues, and these are at once the pride, the strength, and the test of any society. The chief of the virtues for the Soviet Union is useful labor. In the new socialist society work is a matter of honor and glory, not something to be despised and escaped. This is not the substitution of a proletarian for an aristocratic, or a capitalist, scale of virtues. It is laying the base of a sound social morality. Socialist society can maintain, defend, and continue itself only by showing a higher productivity of labor and a greater devotion to the common good than capitalist society is able to attain. So rewards and honors go not to successful moneymakers or professional careerists, but to the best workers in every field of socially useful labor.

The Soviet cure for the offender, even the wrecker, is work. A grafting contractor whom I met in prison in 1924 I found in 1931 in an important executive post. He had made good in Central Asia where he had been sent to work at flax cultivation. The famous engineer Professor Ramsin, head of the Industrial Party conspiracy thirteen years ago, was needed too much to be executed. So he was sent back to his lecture room under guard until he showed a new life. He has just been made a Hero of Socialist Labor and given a large bonus for an invention in hydraulic engineering.

IN THE beginning there was a natural tendency in Soviet Russia to reject indiscriminately the capitalistic virtues as mere instruments of exploitation. Lenin successfully resisted this point of view by showing how necessary their essential elements were to the building of socialism, once they were freed from the limitations and corruptions capitalism had imposed on them, and used for socialist ends. This, of course, is the true Marxist position. It views morality as an evolutionary development which can be consciously developed to meet the needs of society, once economic activity is brought under similar control. Take for instance the virtue of honesty in the basic and inclusive sense of keeping faith. This is a universal virtue because it is the bond upon which all human relationships depend for permanence. The tendency in capitalist society is to degrade it into a paying policy or a legally enforceable obligation, and it is easy for revolutionists to reject it as nothing but contractual morality. But Lenin taught the Bolsheviks why their word must always be good, and the Bolsheviks taught the people why faith must always be kept in every transaction and relation of life. So the socialist house grows stronger under attack. The Nazis built theirs with lies and it falls apart when the first strong wind rises against it. There is no cement in the mortar.

In the higher reaches of morality, where ideals flourish and nations discover the general principles which guide their steps forward into higher forms of living, the Soviet Union is making a distinct advance. It puts into its foundation the dynamic principles of freedom and equality proclaimed by the Western democracies and its emphasis has been upon the working out of equality as the way to more freedom. The degree of equality of opportunity it has been able in its brief history to provide for children and women, for racial and national minorities, for workers and peasants formerly deprived of access to culture, has brought to all of them more capacity to share in the common controls which determine their destiny. That is truly a larger freedom. Social-economic planning provides the opportunity to exercise it. Thus a fuller and more concrete meaning has been given to the word democracy.

All moral standards, principles, and ideals are attempts to adjust the relations between the individual and society in ways that will provide the fullest development for both, and the best prospect of continuity for the society concerned. The problem, both practical and theoretical, was wrongly posed in the earlier days of individualistic democracy as the adjustment between egoism and altruism, between the self and others. It is more correctly stated in terms of the adjustment between self-interest and the common good. Capitalist philosophers have for some time admitted that the capitalist promise to adjust that conflict has not and cannot be fulfilled by either its competitive or monopolistic phase. The Nazis have provided the final demonstration.

THE Soviet Union, however, has already demonstrated that a socialist economy can provide the base for a synthesis, not merely an adjustment, of self-interest and the common good. The achievements of the war, in battle, in production and supply, and in spirit, are the proof. The first duty of a Communist, said Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, years ago, is to be a social person. The latest report of high school education in the USSR stresses the increased emphasis upon the development of a keen sense of duty, honor, and responsibility. All outsiders who have met Soviet youth comment upon their sense of social values. The testimony is abundant that the new person developed by the new socialist society is a socialized individual, one who finds self-interest in seeking the common good. The reverse side of that coin is that the new society is an individualized society, one which finds its life in collectively seeking the fullest development of every person.

Thus a truly social morality is developing, one that finds its authority not in any commandments from heaven, nor any decrees of rulers but in the needs and desires of the people. It will live and grow, because its theory derives from the indivisible relationship between the individual and society, and its practice interpenetrates the opposites of self-interest and the common good in a working synthesis.

HARRY F. WARD.

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OUR UNION BROTHERS

Clearing up some misconceptions about Soviet trade unions, William Z. Foster replies to the AFL hierarchy's false objections to international labor collaboration.

ALTHOUGH potentially of vast importance, international cooperation among the trade unions of the United Nations has, so far, played only a minor role in the war. The chief reason for this is the refusal of the AFL to collaborate with Soviet labor organizations, a refusal based upon the insulting pretext that they are not "real" trade unions. In the current *Photo and Engraver* Matthew Woll, chief AFL Red-baiter, has the crust to say that "Insofar as independence of action is concerned, the Russian unions are on the same level as Hitler's Labor Front." This attitude of the AFL leaders crippled the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Council, which they refused to join; and their Anglo-American Trade Union Committee is nothing more than an ersatz affair, set up to sidetrack the broad rank and file wartime demand for international union unity.

The AFL has not yet given up its twenty-five-year-long policy of Soviet-baiting. There is no basis in fact for its stated objections to Soviet labor organizations. The British trade union leaders, whatever their ideological differences with the Russians, have always considered the Russian unions genuine trade unions. Even before the war, as Sir Walter Citrine reminds us in his book *In Russia Now*, "the British Trade Union Congress had steadfastly adhered to the view that the international trade union movement would be greatly strengthened if the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR were brought into affiliation."

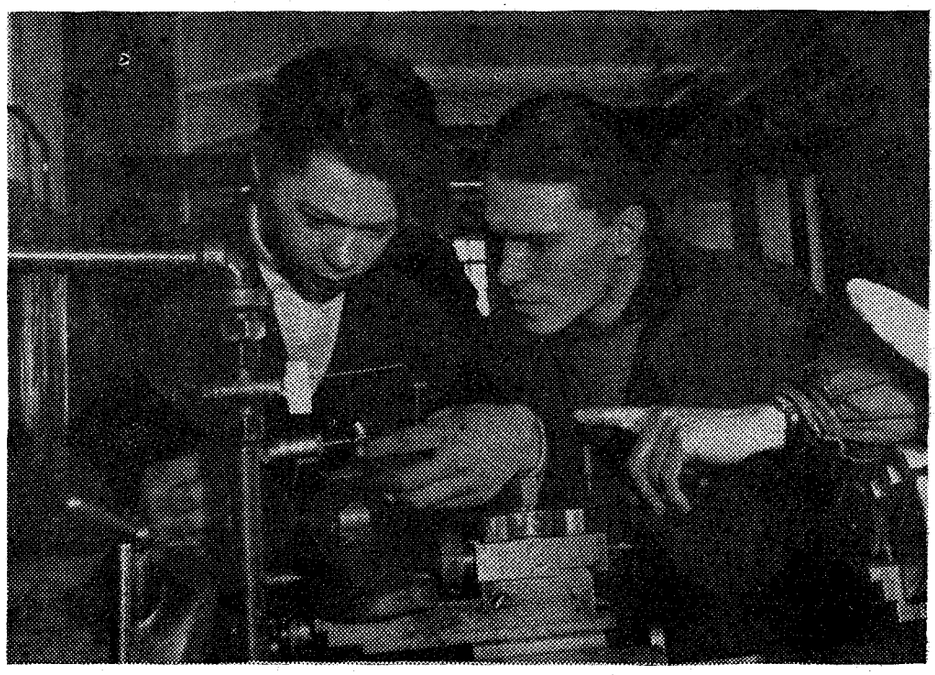
The Soviet trade unions share with American trade unions the basic fact that they are the economic organizations of the workers. The differences between them are the differences between trade unions working under the widely varying systems of socialism and capitalism. The labor organizations of the USSR are flourishing in a socialist environment, where the workers and farmers have achieved political power and own the national productive resources, while the unions in the United States and other capitalist countries are struggling along in the midst of a hostile, capitalist-dominated society. From whichever angle they are observed, the Soviet trade unions, compared to the unions in all capitalist states, are working upon a higher plane. The functions which the trade unions in capitalist countries are able to fulfill only to a limited degree in the face of powerful capitalist opposition, the Soviet trade unions are performing freely upon a vastly broader scope in their socialist environment, with no capitalist opposition whatever. Moreover, the Soviet trade unions have won their way to activities quite beyond the reach of unions in capitalist countries.

Thus, whereas in the United States the trade unions have a limited voice in determining the wage standards and working conditions of only a minority of the workers, the Soviet trade unions speak authoritatively for the whole working class. Also, whereas American labor organizations are carrying on an uphill fight for scanty social insurance and for elementary labor legislation, the Soviet trade unions have won the best systems of social security and labor laws in all the world. In production, too, American organized labor is now trying to make its influence felt, whereas the Soviet trade unions have had labor-management committees in all industries for the past twenty-five years and they have a powerful say in industry generally. Finally, in the government and its war administrative agencies, the American workers have an extremely small representation, while the Soviet workers constitute a big majority in the Supreme Soviet and in all the local Soviets of the industrial areas, and the remaining representation is made up of farmers, professionals, Red Army men, etc.

Under these circumstances there is no need for the Soviet workers to strike. The charge that the Russian workers are legally denied the right to strike is a deliberate lie. Under peace conditions, not to mention wartime, it would be unthinkable for the Soviet workers to follow a strike policy; basically, because, since there is no exploiting class, they would only be striking against themselves, and because they have the most complete system of mediation and arbitration in the world, founded upon the principle of protecting the workers' interests. To American workers this no-strike policy of the Soviet workers seemed strange; but now, with the war on and with the American workers' interests so profoundly identified with the most vital needs of the whole nation, it is relatively easy to understand why the Soviet workers should have a voluntary no-strike policy.

In the USSR, alone of all countries, the state fully concedes the workers the right to organize. This right is written into the national constitution, buttressed by a big body of labor laws and deeply imbedded in industrial and political practice. No one in the USSR would dream of infringing upon this great right of the workers. This contrasts violently with the situation throughout world capitalism, where the recognition won by the trade unions is precarious and tentative. Unions in capitalist countries never know when they will have to fight for their very existence. The destruction of the well-established trade unions of Germany, France, Italy, Holland, Belgium, etc., indicates the menace that always lurks for labor organizations under capitalist conditions.

While the Soviet trade unions are part of a harmonious, integrated socialist system, they nevertheless enjoy a freedom of existence and operation to a far higher degree



Young workers at Soviet factories are trained by their experienced union brothers.

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than the unions in any capitalist country. The Soviet government has no say whatever in the selection of trade union officials, in shaping the structure of the unions, in the control of finances, or in the regulation of their internal democracy, the lies of Matthew Woll to the contrary notwithstanding. Such crippling laws as the Trades Disputes Act in England, the Smith-Connally act in the United States, and the dozens of our state laws directed against the workers' right to organize, are unknown in the USSR. And, of course, there is none of the capitalist employer interference in the life of the Soviet unions which is the source of corruption, gangsterism, and reactionary spirit in AFL unions.

In keeping with socialist society generally, the trade unions possess by far the most democratic internal regime of trade unions anywhere in the world. Membership in them is completely voluntary; they do not even use closed shop provisions to compel membership. Such trade union dictators as Hutcheson, Lewis, and Dubinsky would be unthinkable in the democratic trade unions of the USSR. The high quality of Soviet labor democracy may be gathered from the following statement of the famous British historians of trade unionism, Sidney and Beatrice Webb (*Soviet Communism*, p. 773):

"Nowhere in the world outside of the USSR is there such a continuous volume of pitiless criticism of every branch of government, every industrial enterprise, and every cultural establishment. This perpetual campaign of exposure, which finds expression in every public utterance of the leading statesmen, in every issue of the press, and in every trade union and cooperative meeting, is not only officially tolerated, but also deliberately instigated, as a powerful incentive to improvement alike in direction and execution."

In capitalist democracies (where fascism has not destroyed the workers' free unions and set up state unions) the trade unions are accorded a certain status as spokesmen of the economic interests of the working class. This is especially the case in wartime. In the USSR, as befits a socialist regime, this delegation of authority to the unions far outruns anything to be found anywhere in the capitalist world. Thus the Soviet government, several years ago, turned over to the trade unions the full management of the great state social insurance system and also the responsibility for enforcing the nation's factory legislation. That is to say, the Soviet trade unions, through special commissions elected by the workers in the shops, determine what insurance rates the state economic organizations shall pay and how the many billions of rubles shall be allocated annually to the individual worker beneficiaries; the unions also elect factory inspectors from their ranks, and the decisions of the unions have the force of law in the formulation and enforcement of factory legislation. It would shock capitalists in England and the United States even to think of such vital tasks being turned over to the trade unions; but in the USSR, it is considered perfectly natural to delegate them to the persons most directly interested, the workers, through their trade unions. Since the outbreak of the war the Soviet government has also entrusted the trade unions with other important functions, including the education and disposition of manpower, the military training of workers, the organization of factory anti-aircraft defense, the care of war-bereaved families, the supervision of local prices of necessities, and many other vital tasks.

This delegation of powers to the Soviet trade unions in no sense signifies that the latter are organs of the Soviet state, as the Wolls allege. It testifies, however, to the tremendous role of trade unionism in Soviet life. It also proves that Engels was correct when he stated that a socialist state would tend to "wither away" into an "administration of things," by the gradual transference of erstwhile state functions to the economic, cultural, scientific, and other organizations of the people. Of course, the "withering away" of the Soviet state cannot take place in any fundamental degree so long as the USSR has to live in a capitalist, war-making world, as that requires a strongly centralized state power.

The need for world unity of labor is steadily becoming more urgent. Labor's united international influence is necessary in order to stiffen the anti-fascist policies of the United Nations and, when victory is won, to help establish a democratic and lasting peace. Concretely, organized labor on a world scale, all through the war, should be concerning itself with such questions as the formulation of Allied war aims, the launching of the second front, the disposition of lend-lease supplies, the strengthening of relations between the United Nations, the solution of colonial questions, the intensification of war production, the exchange of civilian defense experiences, etc. And now, with the Axis powers on the defensive and with the United Nations having a definite victory perspective, a whole crop of new and vital issues are springing up to which the world labor movement must give close attention. These include, among others, the practical application of the unconditional surrender policy, the establishment of democracy in the liberated countries, the feeding of the freed peoples, the rebuilding of the European trade union movement, the economic reconstruction of devastated countries, the punishment of war criminals, etc.

In view of the great importance and urgency of these questions it is not surprising that a vast mass movement for international trade union unity is now growing rapidly throughout the United Nations. This is crystallizing around a demand for a United Nations world conference of organized labor. Already committed to this are the British Trade Union Congress, the Soviet trade unions, the Latin American Confederation of Labor, the CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods, the unions in other United Nation countries, and a number of sections of the AFL itself; or a total of about 46,000,000 organized workers.

No one should be surprised at the AFL Executive Council's taking its reactionary position regarding international labor unity. Never in its long history has that body taken a major stand for labor progress. For forty years it fought against industrial unionism and sabotaged the organization of the basic industries; as late as twelve years ago it was denouncing unemployment insurance as a menace to the life of American trade unionism; it is now fighting against national trade union unity, and it is also sabotaging the developing movement of the workers for united political action. Only when it has been literally overwhelmed by mass pressure for labor progress has the Executive Council ever taken a forward step. And so, obviously, will be the case in the matter of international trade union unity. The workers of the world, including those in the AFL, should push forward to labor unity despite the AFL Executive Council. The United Nations labor conference must be held, whether the Wolls, Hutchesons, and Dubinskys like it or not.

In their fight to prevent international trade union unity, on the fake pretense that the Soviet trade unions are not real labor organizations, the reactionaries in the AFL are waging a losing battle. That explains why they were so panicky about the question at their Boston convention. A period of close collaboration is beginning among Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and the other countries of the United Nations, and it will continue after the war. In the light of the better understanding among the peoples, Soviet-baiting is on the way out. These developments are bound to result in the unity of labor internationally, despite all the efforts of the King Canutes in the AFL Executive Council. The unions in the United States must get in step with the world solidarity movement. They should enter into direct communication with the Russian unions, exchange delegations with them, and generally prepare for the great United Nations' labor conference. Let the AFL Executive Council, dragging behind as it always does, catch up with the procession as best it can. Just as the AFL a few years ago had to abandon in confusion its reactionary opposition to social insurance, so it will soon have to drop the hot potato of its resistance to international labor unity.

William Z. Foster.

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EASTERN FRONT: THIRD YEAR

Capt. Sergei Kournakoff reviews the past twelve months of warfare in Russia and examines the unique factors that make for a democratic, invincible soldiery.

So TREMENDOUS and breathtaking are the achievements of the Red Army and the Soviet people in this past year —the twenty-sixth year of the Soviet state —that one is at a loss to give a comprehensive picture of these achievements. But there is a pretty good rule to follow, when in doubt: if you have difficulty in finding the crux of a situation then see what Marshal Stalin has to say about it. And so we turn, naturally, to Stalin's Order of the Day on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the October Revolution. In reviewing the events of the preceding year, from the Battle of Moscow to the height of the Battle of Stalingrad, Marshal Stalin observed: "The Red Army . . . demonstrated that under certain favorable conditions it can overwhelm the German-fascist troops."

The words "under certain favorable conditions" are the clue for detecting the key factor which emerged from the battlefields of the Eastern Front during the past year: during the last twelve months *the Red Army has demonstrated that even under unfavorable conditions it can overwhelm the German-fascist troops*. Here is the so-called "miracle" of the third year of the Soviet-German war.

What favorable conditions did Marshal Stalin have in mind? Obviously, since the Red Army had at that time conducted an offensive only during winter and expected to do so again in the winter of 1942-43, Stalin meant the favorable conditions of frost, snow, and mud. These had reduced the mobility of the German Army, but had affected the Red Army less because of the basic difference of its training, endurance, traction, organization, etc. Stalin also had in mind the fact that during the Red Army's winter counter-offensive in 1941-42 the German lines were extended by about 600 miles while the Soviet lines were shortened by that same token. These were the two basic favorable conditions as far as time and space are concerned. No other conditions were favorable to the Red Army because there was no second front in Europe and lend-lease materials were still arriving in driblets.

As for the second Soviet winter offensive, which began twelve days after Stalin made his anniversary speech, the same favorable conditions remained in effect. There were frost, snow, and mud, although in comparatively smaller doses than during the preceding winter. However, the comparative lessening of the climatic severity was offset by the increased length of the German operational lines, which reached to 1,000 miles (from the border) before Stalingrad and Grozny.

The general strategic pattern of the second year of the war was basically that of the first year: a Soviet winter offensive followed a German summer offensive, the pendulum of war completing its fourth swing (westward) in the middle of February. At that time the Germans, taking advantage of the absence of Allied military land action in the west, staged their counterblow against the Soviet trans-Donetz bridgehead, which had reached to within thirty miles of the Dnieper bend in mid-February.

IN THE ninety days of the Soviet winter offensive the Red Army had: (a) pushed the Germans from Grozny to the outskirts of Novorossisk; (b) hurled the Germans from the Volga to the Donetz; (c) thrown them from the Upper Don to the Seym; (d) cracked the Vyazma-Rzhev salient pointing at Moscow; (e) wiped out the forest fortress of Demyansk which menaced the Moscow-Leningrad line, and (f) lifted the blockade of Leningrad by capturing Schluesselburg and the adjoining area. A four-month comparative lull followed.

The Germans, after a measure of hesitation and procrastination, struck at the Kursk salient on July 5, 1943, with some fifty divisions. Their summer offensive lasted only seven days and penetrated exactly eighteen miles deep. On July 12 the Wehrmacht's crisis began in earnest. Its offensive had been drowned in blood. In that week the Red Army destroyed almost as many German tanks as the number of American tanks it had received through lend-lease during the entire war—and not far from as many planes.

The first grand-scale Soviet summer offensive began on July 12 and has been forging forward ever since, not stopping at the Dnieper barrier but merging with the autumn offensive without pause or interruption. The conditions of that Soviet offensive, however, were not favorable from a purely factual viewpoint. Frost and snow were not there to help the Russians. The Germans were retreating on almost intact lines of communications, while the Red Army often found itself 150 and 200 miles from its railheads. Thus mud in this case helped the Germans. From a purely tactical viewpoint, the great river barriers of the Donetz, Dnieper, Desna, Sozh, etc., faced the Red Army with their formidable high western banks, giving all the advantages to the enemy. And, of course, there still was no second front. But despite these generally unfavorable conditions, the Red

"The Meeting." This charcoal drawing by Dimienty Shmarinov is from the exhibition "The Soviet Artist in the War," now being shown at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in cooperation with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

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Army demonstrated again that it could overwhelm the Wehrmacht.

The myth of "winter soldiers" and "summer soldiers" was no more. The cycle was broken. The Red Army within one year had delivered two consecutive mighty punches—one-two! In one year (340 days, to be exact) the Red Army advanced the following distances:

Along the operational direction	*Miles*
Moscow-Warsaw	200
Orel-Brest	250
Voronezh-Lvov	400
Stalingrad-Chernowitz	500
Grozny-Galatz	450

This was done actually in 220 days of mobile fighting. Thus the average of the advance is 1.6 miles per day. However, the daily advance on certain sectors and at certain times was as high as twenty-five miles in one day.

ASIDE from liberating several hundred square miles of territory the Red Army in the last year wrested from the Germans every single objective they had come for: (a) the chance to outflank Moscow and force a peace by capitulation; (b) the chance to cut the backbone of the USSR by cutting the Trans-Siberian lines east of Moscow; (c) the oil of the Caucasus; (d) the wheat of the Kuban, the Don, and the Ukraine; (e) the iron and coal of the Donetz Basin and of Krivoi Rog; (f) the industrial plants of the richest Soviet productive regions, and, finally, (g) the *reputation of German "summer invincibility"* (which was already a circumscribed version of *overall* invincibility.)

While the Red Army was conducting its two great consecutive offensives, the German High Command was able to stage only two counterblows—at Kotelnikov in December (1942) and before Kharkov in early March (1943)—and one abortive offensive at Kursk in early June. None of these offensive efforts lasted more than two weeks. While the Red Army captured such vaunted and "impregnable" German fortresses as Kharkov, Belgorod, Orel, Bryansk, Smolensk, Demyansk, Schluesselburg, Stalino, Taganrog, Novorossisk, Dniepropetrovsk, and scores of other places, the Wehrmacht lost what Max Werner has called the "zone of strategic decision" in Russia, which is the area between Rzhev, Bryansk, Kharkov, Rostov, Nikolaev, Kremenchug, Gomel, Moghilev and Dvinsk, with the exception of the northwest corner between Nevel-Dvinsk and Moghilev. In the past year the Wehrmacht held the initiative (and only locally at that) during one month. The Red Army held it everywhere for eleven months and, basically, during the whole year without exception.

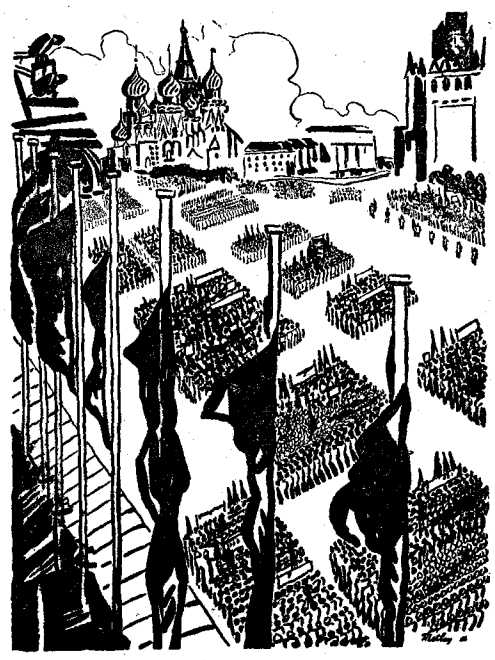
Such are the strategic results of a glorious year, which might be called "the Volga-Dnieper year."

Operationally speaking, the Red Army offensives of the past year bore the characteristic stamp of the so-called "rolling attack," i.e., an attack whose center of gravity shifts continually from sector to sector, keeping the enemy off balance, preventing him from concentrating his reserves on the decisive sector, and straining his lateral communications to the utmost. The Red Army offensives proceeded at a fast tempo, were sustained in power and rolling in character.

Furthermore, the Soviet General Staff "specializes" in doing the improbable, thus always succeeding in bewildering the enemy. Such "improbable actions" were: the defense of Stalingrad, with their back to the great river barrier of the Volga; the attack on Nevel, which was considered the most powerfully fortified sector of the White Russian front; the crossing of the Desna at Bryansk where conditions were extremely difficult for the attacker; and the forcing of the Dnieper below Kremenchug with the consequent strategic breakthrough made precisely at a point where there is no railroad to feed it. (The Red Army, having reached Krivoi Rog, seventy-five miles south of the Dnieper, still has no railroads to rely upon and will acquire one only when the bridge at Dniepropetrovsk has been restored.)

Tactically speaking, it may be said that the art of coordinating the various arms in the Red Army has been brought to a high degree of perfection. An outstanding example is the capture of Mariupol where tanks, cavalry, and amphibious troops took part. The close-knit interaction between the artillery and the other services of the Red Army can be singled out as the most remarkable Russian achievement.

Another factor greatly influencing Soviet tactics and so often giving them the sharp tang of "unpredictability" is the unusual initiative displayed not only by the commanders but by the rank and file, and the support of such initiative by the Soviet Command. Initiative and inventiveness are the two factors which make Soviet tactics so flexible and adaptable. One German military magazine has this to say on the subject: "The inventiveness of the Russians is extraordinary . . . when for example they are short of bombers, they take a glider and drop artillery shells from it by hand. . . ."



In the sphere of army organization, perhaps the most outstanding event of the year was the return of the traditional Russian epaulettes for officers and soldiers. Now this, to a non-Russian, may seem trivial, because in most armies the piece of cloth sewn on the shoulder is hardly more than a support for the insignia of rank. Not so with the Russian army where the epaulette is the badge of martial honor, duty, authority, and sacrifice. It is the most important part of the uniform, from the moral viewpoint.

During the civil war the Red Army discarded epaulettes because they were associated in the eyes of many soldiers with the oppressive authority of the old-line officer. The epaulettes came in for a period of popular hatred because their wearers (the officers) took them into the anti-Soviet camp and fought the Red Army while wearing them. Temporarily the symbol of Russian military glory became the symbol of pure reaction. However, the Soviet people, who in one generation had become an enlightened people, learned how to view history beyond the obstructions erected during the life of the last generation. Behind the strife of the civil war and the hostile gleam of the gold and silver epaulettes at Kakhovka, Kastornoye, and Volochaevsk, they saw the heroic deeds of their wearers at Poltava, Kunnersdorf, in the Alps, at Borodino, Sevastopol, the Balkans, the tragic hills of Manchuria and the bloodsoaked battlefields of the first World War. A great people, unafraid of reaction, have embraced their own historic tradition. They understand that a return to certain traditional forms does not in the least mean a return to old social and economic conditions, but that these very traditional forms may be revitalized and used by the new society.

Such is the sketchy, incomplete outline of the strategic, operational, tactical, and organizational developments in the Red Army during the year which elapsed between the defensive triumph of Stalingrad and the offensive triumph of Dniepropetrovsk. To sum up: the most outstanding achievement of the year was the breaking by the Red Army of the "summer defensive—winter offensive cycle," which prevailed for two years; and the demonstration of the fact that the Red Army can be a mighty offensive weapon in winter and in summer, in spring and in the fall, under "certain favorable conditions" and also without them.

SERGEI KOURNAKOFF.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Too Much Ado

THE tempest in the Senate chamber over the Connally resolution strikes us as befitting a grammarian's convention rather than a legislative body. In time the whole quarrel, if it continues as nebulously as it has so far, may become known as the great debate over a hanging participle, a wandering preposition, or the strange affair of the missing article. What honest critics have said about the Connally resolution is, of course, to the point; the resolution is vague; it can be interpreted to accommodate the isolationists; it hardly mirrors the prevailing national desire for a firmer and more outspoken declaration of foreign policy. But it is no better or worse than the Fulbright resolution which passed the House and whose author was sensible enough to realize that it offered no "panacea for our afflictions."

Senator Pepper and the B2H2 disciples, for all their well-intentioned appeals, are unfortunately giving the Tafts and Wheelers the chance to stir up more ill-feeling and to divide the Senate's pro-war groups with fresh doubts as to the advisability of international collaboration. And when all is said and done the B2H2 group is none too clear in its own position on postwar organization. It thinks that unity among the three leading components of the coalition is power politics, forgetting that without such fundamental solidarity of the greatest industrial and military nations the efforts for a peaceful and ordered world become meaningless. The history of the decades following the last war is undeniable proof that without a basic tripartite alliance among the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, power politics hold the stage with a new world conflict inevitable.

NO RESOLUTION, even the most carefully written, can guarantee peace or postwar amity. To think so is to resort to verbal devices without fulfilling those day-to-day obligations which alone can cement the relations of the democracies. The Senate has been guilty of permitting such wearying harangues as those of Lodge, Chandler, and Russell, who alienate our friends and comfort our enemies. Senator Russell, for example, has again made demands for American bases throughout the world, giving the British the utmost cause for suspicion of our intentions. If realism is to become the keynote of the future, the Senate will have to pursue practices that speed the winning of the war, provide maximum aid to our allies, leave no doubt that we mean to work with the United Nations to our fullest resources. Resolutions help, but the final tests are, as we have said on other occasions, specific acts.

Strike Menace

AS WE go to press, the policy committee of the United Mine Workers is in session, with John L. Lewis making up their minds on whether to call the fourth nation-wide strike of coal miners since May 1. President Roosevelt has pledged "decisive action to see that coal is mined," and by the time this is read, either the strike will have been called off or the President will have acted. At the same time the fifteen non-operating railroad unions and the five operating unions are taking a strike vote among their 1,350,000 members. Both the miners and the railroad workers have excellent cases, but strike action is the worst possible way to secure justice, with every ton of coal and the uninterrupted functioning of every railroad car needed in the war against the Axis.

Both the mine and rail disputes are by-products of the failure to stabilize the economy. In the case of the coal controversy there is the added major factor of the deliberate exploitation of the situation by a man whose hostile attitude toward the war, toward the President and the United Nations has made him only too eager to obstruct the country's fight for existence.

The War Labor Board has added another pettifogging chapter to its record on the mine dispute, discovering a legal loophole to recognize the principle of portal-to-portal pay, but reducing by thirty-seven and one-half cents a day the basic daily wage of the September agreement between the UMW and the Illinois Coal Operators Association. By similar warped logic Stabilization Director Fred M. Vinson has denied the railroad workers the eight cents an hour increase which has already been granted them by special government boards and which the companies are willing to pay, and decreed that it must be only four cents. We submit that this is pigheaded, shortsighted, and utterly lacking in that over-all commonsense grasp of essentials which is so necessary on the home front if we are to avoid serious dislocations. And of course, all this is duck soup for John L. Lewis and his defeatist pals in Congress and in the press. It is up to the President, with the support of all patriotic Americans, to end the crises in coal and rail transport and guarantee fair play to the key war workers involved.

FEPC in Danger

WE DON'T know what motive lies behind the decision of Comptroller General Lindsay Warren which virtually cancels the President's executive order prohibiting racial discrimination in war plants. Maybe it just happens that he is a former congressman from North Carolina—or maybe there is more than a coincidence between his recent action and the defeatist policies of the reactionary southern bloc. Regardless of the motive, the effect is certain. The foundation upon which the FEPC has sought to operate, inadequate as it was, is shattered as long as the Warren decree is permitted to stand.

The comptroller general got into the FEPC picture when the Southern Bell Telephone Co. refused to comply with the President's order directing all government purchasing agents to require guarantees against racial discrimination from firms doing business with the government. The company refused to provide such a guarantee, whereupon Lindsay Warren arbitrarily decided that it did not matter anyway and the company could go right ahead with the contract. In effect, he said that the President's executive order does not mean what it says. The order in question was issued by the President on May 27 of this year and is known as Executive Order 9346, superseding the somewhat milder Executive Order 8802. What it says is that "All contracting agencies of the government of the United States shall include in all contracts hereafter negotiated or renegotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and requiring him to include a similar provision in all subcontracts." The comptroller general has taken it upon himself to sabotage the entire intention of the order by decreeing that the order is not mandatory.

This shameful arrogation of authority and perversion of democratic policy have been met with the protests which they deserve. It is of the utmost importance to national unity, to the morale and progress of the Negro people, and to the entire war effort that the original intention of the President on this score be upheld. A sharp public rebuke to Lindsay Warren from President Roosevelt carrying with it a cancellation of the Warren interpretation is the minimum the public should demand.

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Roosevelt as Educator

IN HIS message on postwar education, President Roosevelt has urged Congress to draw up and pass legislation providing opportunities for further education to service men and women after the war. "It may well be said that the time to prepare for peace is at the height of war," the President pointed out, declaring that "We have taught our youth how to wage war; we must also teach them how to live useful and happy lives in freedom, justice, and decency. . . . This is a good time not merely to be thinking about the subject, but to do something about it."

The President has contributed to the morale of the armed forces by taking leadership to transform postwar promises from the vaguely general to the particular. He asked that Congress provide specifically for the tuition and maintenance of young people eager to attend school or college after demobilization. The President's action raises expectations of further and equally specific proposals to deal with security, employment, and health in postwar America.

The Senate Education and Labor Committee, headed by the sympathetic Elbert D. Thomas of Utah, will soon hold hearings on the President's message. Senator Pepper of Florida, a member of the committee, has already introduced a bill dealing with postwar education which he will probably withdraw in favor of legislation sponsored by Senator Thomas and the full committee. The President's message accompanied the first preliminary report of the Armed Forces Committee on Postwar Educational Opportunities for Service Personnel. The committee recommends that all persons who have served at least six months should have the opportunity of one year of education, with the government paying, besides tuition fees, fifty dollars a month to each single student for his support, and seventy-five dollars a month to married students, with an allowance of ten dollars a month for each child. Unless these minimum payments are guaranteed, the whole purpose of the President's program is negated. The congressional die-hards will hardly dare challenge the intent of the legislation; but they will no doubt attempt to limit its scope and weaken its provisions. It is against such "subtle" sabotage that labor and the people will have to guard.

Taxes by NAM

THE tax program of the House Ways and Means Committee has a familiar look. Where have we seen that face before? Oh yes, it was on October 18 that a spokesman for the National Association of Manufacturers, appearing before the Ways and Means Committee, opposed any new taxes, though conceding that if there had to be new levies, a sales tax would be just the thing. Whereupon the next day the Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee came out against any new taxes. Whereupon Republican leaders in the Senate the day after that declared against any new taxes. Whereupon two days later the Ways and Means Committee decided by bi-partisan vote against any rise in individual income taxes. And in due course the committee voted not to hike estate and gift levies or corporation normal and surtax rates.

True, the committee's program is not an exact facsimile of the NAM's. But children are never carbon copies of their parents. While rejecting the Treasury's proposals for increases in the above three major taxes, the committee graciously agreed to do something about higher excise taxes. Not to provide the additional $2,500,000,000 the Treasury asked for, but possibly as much as $1,500,000,000. The committee also proposed to boost the excess profits tax from ninety to ninety-five percent. All in all, the House body's tax program amounts to less than twenty percent of the $10,500,000,000 which Secretary Morgenthau requested to finance the war and combat inflation.

To give the devil his due, the committee also voted down a ten percent sales tax sponsored by Rep. A. Willis Robertson of Virginia. The splendid job done by CIO President Philip Murray and spokesmen for a number of CIO unions in their testimony against the sales tax has given pause to the Congressional tories, who are also not unmindful of the reckoning with their constituents a year hence.

THE administration tax program is a shambles. It was not too sturdy an instrument from the outset, as we pointed out in our October 19 issue, but it had potentialities for improvement. The fight is now opening in the House. The trouble is that many people find the subject of taxes so mysterious that they do nothing until it is too late to do anything but howl when they have to pay up. But it is still possible for the people to reverse the Ways and Means Committee. Seven labor, farm, and other progressive organizations have drawn up a genuine win-the-war tax program, and one of them, the National Lawyers Guild, has worked out the proposals in detail. They include: increased individual income tax rates on incomes above $2,500, and a $25,000 ceiling on net incomes after taxes; restoration of personal exemptions to $750 for single persons, $1,500 for married couples, and $400 for each dependent; repeal of the "victory" tax; raising corporation taxes from forty to fifty-five percent; a ninety percent levy on all profits above four and five percent of invested capital; much higher estate and gift tax rates; heavy excise taxes on luxuries and non-essentials; mandatory joint returns for married couples, taxation of all government securities, and elimination of percentage depletion allowances for mining and oil properties; no general sales tax.

A Disservice to Jews

AN UNFORTUNATE schism has developed in American Jewish life. By vote of its executive committee the American Jewish Committee has withdrawn from the American Jewish Conference, which was organized only two months ago. In protest there have been counter-resignations from the American Jewish Committee.

The committee has long been dominated by ultra-conservative forces that have been remote from the Jewish masses. The present action tends to divide the Jewish people at a time when unity is deeply urgent. The excuse given for this step is that the American Jewish Conference adopted a resolution demanding the eventual establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, to which the American Jewish Committee is opposed. However, since the conference accepted the statement of the delegates of the American Jewish Committee that their organization would not be bound by this resolution, it is not clear just why the leaders of the committee now feel it necessary to withdraw. Moreover, the very statement in which they announce their withdrawal also asserts their opposition to the British White Paper on Palestine, demands free immigration into that country, and reaffirms the intention of the committee to continue to combat anti-Semitism and to work for the rescue of the Jews of Europe—all questions on which there is complete agreement with the American Jewish Conference.

IN AN editorial on the American Jewish Conference in its September 14 issue NEW MASSES also criticized the Palestine resolution on the ground that it tended to narrow down the basis on which all strata of the Jewish people could unite. We likewise pointed to other weaknesses of the conference, notably the exclusion of progressive organizations such as the Jewish People's Committee and the Jewish section of the International Workers Order which speak for hundreds of thousands of Jewish workers. Nevertheless, we called for support and strengthening of the conference as the most comprehensive expression of the interests of American Jewry. It is well known that the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee, the latter dominated by right-wing Social Democrats of the David Dubinsky-Abe Cahan type, were from the outset lukewarm to the conference and sought to sabotage it. Now one of them openly attempts to wreck it. This is a disservice not merely to Jews, but to all Americans for whom the first command in the battle against Hitlerism is unity.

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THE MUSES GO TO WAR

"With bullet, with bayonet, with verse . . . we shall defend the beautiful realm of proud man." Alexander Kaun writes about the poets in the USSR.

On June 22, 1941, Hitler's troops invaded Soviet territory. Though they had expected this inevitable clash and were not unprepared for it, the Soviet people were somewhat stunned by the perfidy of the recent co-signatory to the non-aggression pact. The arts were silenced for the moment. The general feeling was that the fighting front needed everyone, and everything was to be dedicated to that front.

Very soon, however, it became clear that in this total war all creative forces had to be mobilized. The fighting front and the productive front demanded copious and adequate food and equipment, intellectual and artistic as well as material. Olga Knipper, the widow of Anton Chekhov, observed the keen response of war audiences to the arts, a response matching the eagerness of artists to serve the war. She said:

" 'We do not need poetry,' say the Germans, 'we need guns.' Well, we need poetry too. Our poetry is also 'at the front.' The genuine poet is aware today of the one possible happiness—to live the lot of his country. No matter how much the fascist obscurantists try to lower man, to convert him into an automaton, a machine, a slave, their efforts will prove vain. Man—that has a proud sound [Gorky's words—A.K.]. With bullet, with bayonet, with verse, with all our great art we shall defend the beautiful realm of proud man—our country, our motherland."

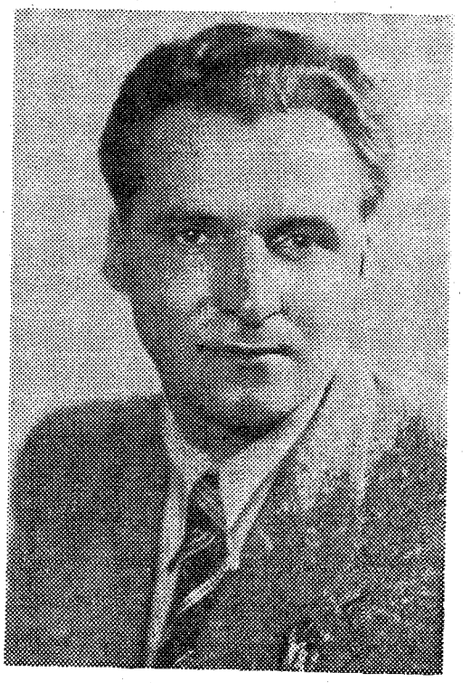
The need of poetry in time of war was manifested quite early, when the defenders of Voronezh demanded a supply of the collected verse of two Vonorezh folk poets, A. V. Koltsov (1809-42) and Ivan Nikitin (1824-61). Living poets came to the front, along with musicians, actors, dancers, to share the life of the soldiers, to entertain and to create. The delicate lyricist Yosif Utkin lost his fingers, shot off by German shrapnel, and, no longer able to write, dictated lines of hate from his hospital cot. On all fronts, from the Arctic to the Black Sea and the Caucasus, and in all the besieged cities, from Leningrad and Moscow to Sevastopol and Stalingrad, the voice of the poet regularly mingled with the sounds of bursting shells and droning planes.

The attitude of the poet to the present war is succinctly expressed by Nikolai Tikhonov, who had sensed the world catastrophe in prose and verse decades before it broke forth. To him, "this is not an ordinary war that ends in discussions at a peace conference about two or three provinces and several carloads of gold indemnity. No, the destiny of mankind is involved, the question of what kind of world will emerge from under the ruins, of what man will do and how he will live on this earth, and first of all how the Soviet man will live on Soviet earth."

Tikhonov tells us how after the momentary silence, the "terrible pause," art regained its voice: "With every day of the war men of art revived. It became clear that the muses cannot be silent. The witnesses of terrible days began to speak in the language of literature, painting, music, without waiting for the days to come. They began to speak today. The war, our motherland, love for freedom, revenge—these have begun to live in prose and in poetry. A new front has been created, the front of art, and it is broadening apace. . . .

"If the fascists are burning books, we shall proceed to write new ones. If the fascists write books full of savagery and darkness, we shall burn them with the fire of satire. If the band of Goebbels-Rosenberg-Hitler is howling about man the murderer, man the beast, as the ornament of future society, we shall tell of man of good will, and of the most terrible force—justice; if the fascists are impelled to glorify the slavery of all nations except the German, we shall write about the freedom of all nations; if they have debased woman to the lowest degree, we shall write verses and songs about the grandeur of our women, about youth and beauty.

"Spring is on her way. The ice is breaking, the snow darkens, the day grows brighter. . . . We welcome spring. She will not save the Germans. Let them not place their hope in clear, bright weather: in all events they are men of darkness. At their own risk they have invoked the ancient myth about the battle of darkness and light. This conflict has been decided long ago. As long as there is a sun in the skies, it will remain invincible. Under its dynamic fire, night retreats day after day. Thus it has been from time immemorial; thus it shall be even now. We are marching to meet spring with arms and song. In our music and in the thunder of our cannon we hear one and the same flaming word: victory. To it we have given our heart and our inspiration."



Constantine Simonov

The war has stimulated a revival of the "old" poets, and has brought forth a crop of new ones. The acmeist Akhmatova has broken her long silence. Even the veteran Demyan Bedny has reappeared on the pages of dailies and weeklies with his facile verse. At the other extreme, David Burliuk has been singing patriotic verses in good clear iambics (in the New York daily *Russky Golos*). Boris Pasternak has published some polished war lyrics, though his main output is still in the field of translations. Among his recent achievements one should mention poems from the Polish romanticist, Julius Slowacki, and his masterly *Romeo and Juliet*, which excels even his *Hamlet* in approaching the sparkling simplicity of Shakespeare. Alexander Bezymensky has continued his march from Mayakovsky back to Pushkin, both in form and content; he has written some notable war verses in regular meter. There has been an outburst of songs, lyrics, and ballads on war themes by Lededev-Kumach, Mikhalkov, Kirsanov, Utkin, Golodny, Gusev, Svetlov, Zharov, and a number of younger poets, like Isakovsky, Shchipachev, Yashin, Dolmatovsky, whose

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names were hardly known before 1941. Except for Kirsanov, who still retains certain futuristic mannerisms, the Soviet poets have definitely freed themselves from the fetters of formalism. What they have to say is usually strikingly fresh and devoid of cliches, yet clearly understandable. Such is the virtue of the average Soviet poet, the net result of years of struggle.

A survey of Soviet poetry since the latter part of 1941 might fill a volume. I should like to mention here only a few of the more notable contributions to war poetry.

Tvardovsky, author of *Muravia Land*, has been quite prolific in his short pieces. Most of them are in ballad form, depicting war episodes, particularly bits of guerrilla warfare. Only one of his poems approaches *Muravia Land* in scope and mastery, *Vasily Tyorkin*. Here Tvardovsky attempts a generic Russian soldier or, more correctly, a Soviet soldier. Vasily Tyorkin typifies the homely wisdom of the average Russian man of the masses, his rhythmic speech, the dexterity of his hands, and his inventiveness in moments of trial and crisis. At the same time, he is a typical Soviet citizen in the brand of patriotism that motivates his actions. Unlike Toystoy's Platon Karatayev, and unlike Nekrasov's peasants whom he resembles in his colorful speech. Tyorkin is imbued with the dignity of citizenship, with the pride of a patriotism based on reason and knowledge of what one owes to one's country and its social order. The poem is written in a humorous tone that does not change even in grave moments. Tvardovsky displays his deepening understanding of the common people and of their rich language. Yet the poem falls short of *Muravia Land* in lacking the continuity of growth that we witness in the adventures of Nikita Morgunok. *Vasily Tyorkin* is a series of episodes, some of them epic in quality and diapason; but the hero, so far as his traits and views are concerned, remains static throughout.

The poem is, quite naturally, a favorite with the fighting men. A number of Leningrad poets, professional and amateur, recently published a collection of verses on the new adventures of Tyorkin, *Vasily Tyorkin on the Leningrad Front*, illustrated by Boris Leo. Apparently Tyorkin is becoming a folk hero, inviting imitation.

A good deal of war poetry is related to guerrilla fighting, which expresses the most heroic and most folklike aspect of the war. Nearly all the best poets have dealt with this thrilling theme. Svetlov, Surkov, Dolmatovsky, Antokolsky, and many others have repeatedly presented, with reserved emotionalism, such dramatic features of guerrilla warfare as small boys and girls performing dangerous services as scouts or grenade throwers. The poet has to beware of the pitfall of melodrama, he must be suggestive rather than outspoken in depicting such raw tragedy; furthermore, in presenting these heroic exploits, which are taking place on a mass scale, he faces the task of portraying a collective phenomenon without effacing the individual. Soviet poets have coped with this problem admirably. You are aware of their pent-up emotion, the spasm in the throat, the burning anger at the sadistic degenerates, violators, and murderers of children; but all this is held under restraint and noble reserve. The poetess Margarita Aliger has written a long narrative poem, *Zoya*, in which she describes the life and death of a ninth-grade schoolgirl, Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya. This girl, whom the Germans tortured, lashed, and finally hanged, failing to break her spirit, has well nigh become a legend in the Soviet Union. Margarita Aliger was not afraid of treating so dangerously popular and immediate a subject. Her poem has the dignity and perspective of an epic.

Two members of the short-lived but boisterous school of constructivists, Selvinsky and Inber, have gained prominence with their war poems. Selvinsky's fine gift of producing a vivid image by means of carefully selected concrete details has served him well at the various battlefronts. He makes you visualize the madness and horror which he has personally observed and lived through, and he does it in unpretentious iambics, with incisive nouns and verbs, very few adjectives, and hardly any metaphors. One of his poems has the characteristic title: "I Saw This Myself." The virtually indescribable horror of heaps of corpses, victims of German sadistic ingenuity, is suggested by a few apposite details that etch themselves indelibly in one's mind and memory.

Vera Inber has immortalized Leningrad, whose siege she has lived through to tell us of the sufferings and heroism of the inhabitants. Most notable among her many writings on this theme is her long poem *Pulkovo Meridian*, composed in the form of a diary. Its stark directness is suggested by the title of one chapter, "Light and Warmth," in which she speaks of the privations suffered by the besieged. The poet muses and daydreams (of a brown crust of rye bread), as she lies in bed gloved and booted, under two fur coats, a kerchief protecting her head. No electricity, no fuel, no food, and even the water pipes are out of order, so that the citizens make their way to the Neva River and stand in line with buckets in front of an ice hole.

These experiences amid scenes of "luxuriating winter" do not dampen, however,

the fire of loyalty to the cause, nor the flaming hatred for the "Hitlerite delirium." Vera Inber has poured into her poem the noble tragedy of a people ready to suffer and die so that the life they love may not be extinguished by mechanized brutality.

The tragic days of Leningrad have thus far fared better in art than any other episode in the present war, the siege of Stalingrad not excepted. No one has as yet excelled Shostakovich's Seventh Symphony as a monumental expression of the spirit of Leningrad. Among the numerous literary contributions to this theme, one must note, besides the Inber poem, at least one other worthy endeavor, the verses of Nikolai Tikhonov. In prose and verse, in articles and speeches, Tikhonov has paid homage to the city he loves and to the unbreakable will to freedom of its citizens. I believe that one may get an idea of the role of the poet in wartime Russia by reading an extract from a paper by Alexander Fadeyev, president of the Writers Union, which I translate:

"The workers of the Kirov plant requested us to arrange for them a literary evening. On the program were the Leningrad poets, Nikolai Tikhonov, Alexander Prokofyev, and myself.

"In the basement of one of the buildings, underneath a cemented floor, they have arranged a hall for meetings and entertainments, with a stage and scenery. The hall, with seats for several hundred people, was overfilled. All passages were crowded, and they had to lock the entrance door. All through the evening, people tried to break in, although just then artillery began shelling the plant.

"Nikolai Tikhonov reads his poem 'Kirov Is With Us.' The subject of the poem is how Kirov, the late leader and favorite of Leningrad workers, goes the rounds of blockaded Leningrad on a cold, black, iron night.

"The power of this superb poem was enhanced by the fact that Tikhonov wrote it during the current cruel winter, in his unheated rooms, by the light of a little kerosene lamp, and by the fact that he himself was reading it to the Kirov workers, in the basement of one of the Kirov plant buildings, during a heavy artillery shelling of the plant. All listened to the poem as though petrified. The faces of the listeners were severe and touching.

"There is a chapter in the poem in which Kirov passes by the plant that bears his name:

Buildings are smashed, and fences;
The ruined vaults gape wide.
In the iron nights of Leningrad
Kirov goes through the city;
That just and terrible warrior
Quietly goes through the city.
The hour is late, deep and cold.
Austere, like a fortress, is the plant.
Here, there is no pause in the work;

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Here, rest is forgotten, and sleep;
Here, men by a great care are weighed down,
Drops of sweat on their temples.
What if the red flame of a shell
Has more than once crimsoned the shops!
Work conscientiously, properly.
Banish fatigue and fear.
Momentary languor may grip
The men, but lo, an old man comes forth.
Hear what this grandfather will say;
His tongue is incorruptible.
"What if our soup is watery?
What if bread is priced like gold?
We will stand firm like steel:
There will be time to get tired later on.
The enemy could not break us by force,
So he wants to take us by hunger,
To grab Leningrad from Russia,
The Leningraders to imprison.
This shall never, never take place
On the sacred shores of the Neva.
Our workers are Russian men;
They will die but not yield to the enemy.
We shall forge new arms for the front,
We will break the enemy's ring.
Not for nothing is our severe plant
Proudly named after Kirov."

"While Tikhonov read these lines tears rolled down the brave faces of the Kirov workers, both men and women. Tikhonov himself was moved. When he finished, he received an ovation, and was called out again and again."

The relations between the front and the poets may be illustrated by the tank "Ruthless." Four poets, Gusev, Marshak, Mikhalkov, and Tikhonov, and three painters, known by the collective name of Kukriniksi, all of whom were awarded the Stalin prize (100,000 to 200,000 rubles), converted their prizes into a tank which they named "Ruthless." The Kukriniksi painted on either side of the tank a gay cartoon with verses by Marshak and Mikhalkov:

Carry on your fiery attack,
O heavy tank of ours!
Get behind the fascist rear,
Knock him on the flank!

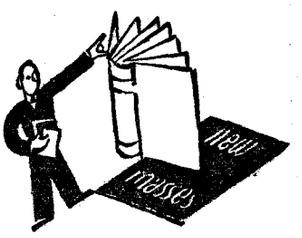
Your fearless crew,
Ever wakeful and alert,
Is carrying out
Stalin's war order.

In a reduced size the cartoon and the verses were engraved on a brass plate and placed inside the tank by the commander's seat. Three months later the laureates received a letter from the officers of the tank, reporting on their exploits in a number of battles against the enemy. The officers and crew were proud of their tank and of the dedication, which inspired them to acts of fearless courage. The letter ended with the assuring lines: "At the present time, 'Ruthless' is in the rank of active machines and, proceeding to batter the fascist filth, it is executing to perfection the task assigned by you." Incidentally, the close cooperation of artists and poets in war posters and billboards has proved extremely effective for the morale of the army and civilians.

IN THE growing volume of lyrics the prevailing motive is dual: love and hatred. Antokolsky, Svetlov, Dolmatovsky, and numerous others interweave their sentiments with this woof and warp. It seems inevitable that tenderness of one's mother and child should invoke implacable vengeance against their tormentors and murderers, that love for one's land and its way of living should spell unreserved hatred for the invader whose victory means slavery. This dichotomy is voiced by Alexey Surkov:

In the night we had faith in the dawn
That shall rise out of blood.
We knew that without wrath can be
Neither happiness nor love.
And in the rare hour when
We managed to get some wine,
We drained the glass at a gulp
To hatred and anger.
A heavy road is given us,
But forge thou a lasting song—
The time will come to raise a toast
To brotherhood and love.

Soviet patriotism has forged a new loyalty to the motherland, to its history and traditions. Words and conceptions that were hated through their association with the oppressive past have now assumed a new significance and value. The poet no longer hesitates to speak without malice of "soldier," "general," "church," "sacred soil." It is symptomatic that the theme of personal love sounds more and more frequently in war lyrics. By invoking the image of his beloved the warrior draws strength for his national love-hate sentiment. Best known of these poems is one by Constantine Simonov, "Wait for Me," which is recited and sung from one end of the country to the other, and has recently been expanded into a play and produced with great success. Young Simonov is both prolific and versatile. To American audiences he is known for his play *The Russian People*. "Wait for Me" is a fragment from a long, as yet unfinished, cycle under the title *With You and Without You*. Simonov has seen much during this war, serving as a correspondent on many fronts. In his cycle he records his impressions and moods, invariably linking them with a yearning for his beloved. The fragment that has become popular is not his best verse, but it is typical of Simonov's whimsical muse.



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Wait for me and I'll come back,
But wait with might and main.
Wait throughout the gloom and rack
Of autumn's yellow rain.
Wait when snowstorms fill the way,
Wait in summer's heat,
Wait when, false to yesterday,
Others do not wait.
Wait when from afar at last
No letters come to you.
Wait when all the rest have ceased
To wait, who waited too.

Wait for me and I'll come back.
Do not lightly let
Those, who know so well the knack,
Teach you to forget.
Let my mother and my son
Believe that I have died;
Let my friends, with waiting done,
At the fireside
Lift the wine of grief and clink
To my departed soul.
Wait, and make no haste to drink,
Alone amongst them all.

Wait for me and I'll come back,
Defying death. When he
Who could not wait shall call it luck
Only, let it be.
They cannot know, who did not wait,
How in the midst of fire
Your waiting saved me from my fate,
Your waiting and desire.
Why I still am living, we
Shall know, just I and you:
You knew how to wait for me
As no other knew.

The revolution of 1917 upset the apathetic existence of millions and millions of Russian and non-Russian masses on the vast territory of the former empire. They were jolted out of passivity and mute submission and forced to act and think and speak for themselves. The expression of this change, in the arts, has required time to progress from the hysterical pandemonium of the early days. In poetry we have noted the groping efforts, the exaggerations and eccentricities, the confusion of tongues and styles, the whole commotion of growing pains. Not all the battles recorded in this essay were futile or sterile; many of them helped clear the soil for a fruitful and healthy growth. The extraordinary experiences of the last twenty-five years, the spirit of creative reciprocity among the motley nationalities of the Soviet Union, and the sense of security and confidence in the future that imbues the citizens of the young state and fires them with heroic zeal in defending it, augur well for the emergence and development of a literature worthy of its nineteenth-century pioneers and masters.

ALEXANDER KAUN.

Mr. Kaun's article is taken from his book "Soviet Poets and Poetry" just published by the University of California Press.

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"BATTLE FOR RUSSIA"

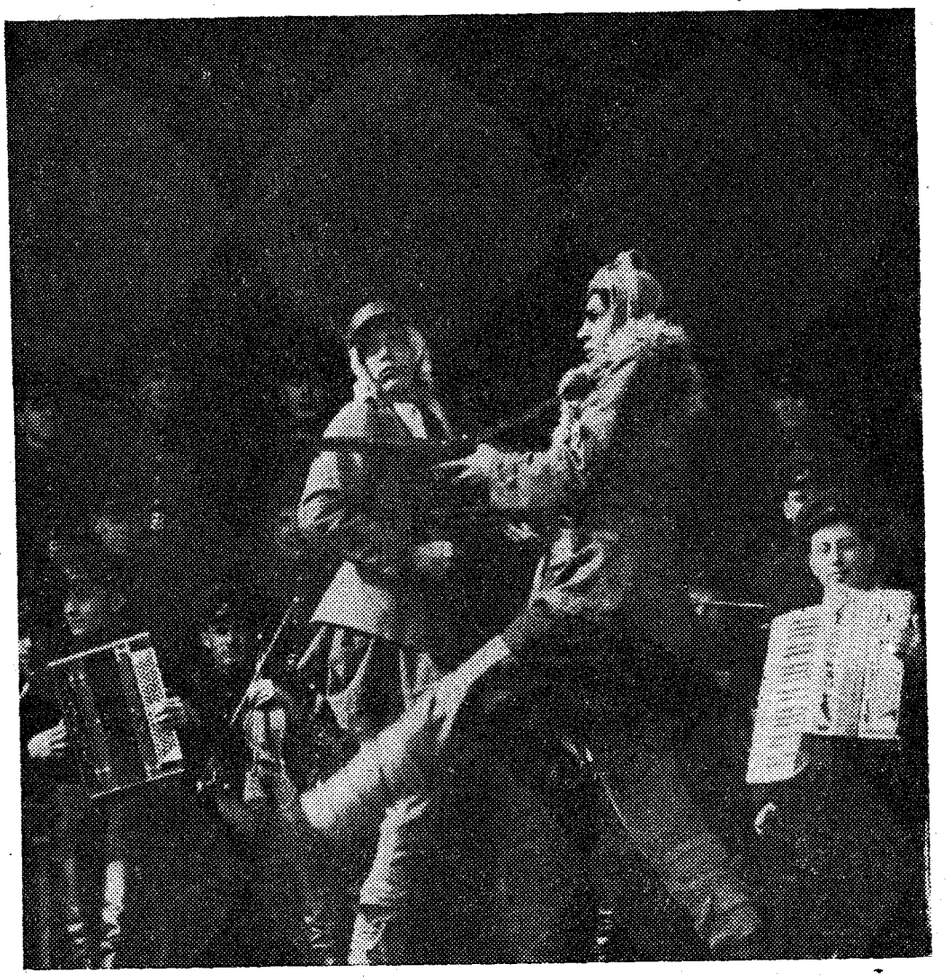
The US Army's new orientation film. "Transcendent skill and a message that precisely fulfills one of the greatest needs of our time." Reviewed by Daniel Prentiss.

TODAY culture is front-page stuff as never before in history. The premiere of Shostakovich's Seventh, and very soon his Eighth, a Toscanini Victory Broadcast, a *Mission to Moscow*—this is victory news in the same degree as progress at the front. To my mind, the new US Army orientation film, *Battle for Russia*, represents a cultural-political victory of equal dimension—perhaps greater.

Battle for Russia is fifth of a War Department film series known as *Why We Fight*. But first, some words of background. The story of this film series begins several years ago. Army educators who had been entrusted with whipping an army into shape—an army that would know the score (nature of the enemy, character of the war)—soon saw that they had their work cut out for them. The effects of years and years of Hearstian and *Daily News* pap would not be easy to overcome. The Army had to work fast. Out of crucial necessity the Special Service Division, War Department film program came into being. Films could do the job with a dispatch and force that no other educational medium approached. The best talent of the Hollywood studios was enlisted and a full program launched. The *Why We Fight* series was turned over to Director Frank Capra. I shall speak of the other film projects of the Special Service Division at some later date. For the present, suffice it to say that the results have been astonishing from every point of view. I have canvassed any number of enlisted men and officers and opinion prevails that the film program has cut down the orientation period by anything from one-third to one-half.

The first film of the *Why We Fight* series was *Prelude to War*. This was followed by *The Nazis Strike*, *Divide and Conquer*, and *Battle of Britain*. Unwaveringly anti-fascist in point of view, all four were models both for directness of statement and brilliance of presentation. Capra and his co-workers were up against a tough proposition. They knew that their soldier audiences were usually dog-tired when screening time came around. They knew that screening conditions—hard, backless benches, large echoy barracks, improper lighting, to name but a few—made it additionally difficult for the men to concentrate. The films had to be *extra* good, *extra* stimulating to make the grade. And consider that the subject was not "boy meets girl" but a grave depiction of the course of history since the Manchurian "incident" of 1931. The results were such as to make even the confirmed documentarian sit up and rub his eyes unbelievingly. Even he had never dreamed that the documentary could pass such a test.

The War Department quickly came to the realization that apart from Army personnel the public at large could benefit greatly from the content of the *Why We Fight* series. This part of the story will not make happy reading, however. To be brief and to place the best possible interpretation on the matter, the motion picture industry refused to admit that the general public would welcome the films. Months of un-



Red Army men at the front do a political caricature in dance. The name of this particular performance is "Fritz and Hans," the soldier's designation for the enemy. Fritz is represented in a hood of squirrel fur beneath his steel helmet, while Hans wears a woman's kerchief and an ostrich feather boa wrapped around his neck. Beneath their uniforms they wear peasant women's dresses. The costumes themselves are a caricature of the Nazi soldiers' plight on the Eastern Front—and a symbol of their looting. The two men doing the dance are among the many gifted performers in the Red Army—singers, story-tellers, musicians, and musical ensembles, as well as dancers.

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necessary wrangling ensued before the industry could be prevailed upon to distribute *Prelude to War*, first of the lot. Upon the kind of reception it received would depend the decision to distribute the other three pictures.

The handling of *Prelude to War* was badly bungled. So badly that it died and the War Department felt it was in no position to press for the public release of the rest of the series. It continued to screen its films for the movie critics and other interested parties and although approval was complete, no sufficiently eloquent or unified demand for release emerged.

Battle for Russia changed the picture. The film swept everything, the industry included, before it. Its skill was so transcendent, the message it brought so precisely fulfilled one of the greatest needs of our time—enlightened understanding of the USSR—that there was an end to quibbling.

Battle for Russia opens much in the fashion of *The Russian Story*, seen recently at the Stanley Theater. We discover that from the eleventh century onward Russia has been forced to withstand the horrors of invasion—the Teutonic Knights, Charles VII of Sweden, Frederick the Great, Napoleon in 1812, the Kaiser in 1914. The film furnishes us with the reason for the marauders' avarice—the immense, untold natural wealth of the land. Then in a most remarkable sequence, in which music and dance are the principal means employed, we are made aware of the many peoples, nationalities, and races that dwell on this one-sixth of the earth. As prelude to the Nazi invasion on June 22, 1941, the film briefly sketches in the process whereby all other European countries fell to the blitz. Later scenes take us through the fighting outside of Moscow, the tragic ordeal and triumph of Leningrad, and conclude with Stalingrad. We see a nation unified, materially and spiritually, in which no woman, no man, no child, no blade of grass, no grain of sand but that strains to victory and the final smashing of the fascists.

With *Battle for Russia* the War Department has dealt anti-Soviet defeatists and obscurantists a large-sized rebuff. One example of unprecedented clarity in the film—a most critical one indeed—is the manner in which the "pact" period is treated. The line of the film is to this effect: "In the period from German invasion of Poland to that early morning in June when Hitler's army crossed the borders of the USSR, Russia placed its entire economy on a war footing. It also took advantage of its temporary peace in other ways. As Germany marched east, Russia moved to the west, securing strategic bases of defense in Finland, the Baltic States, and Bessarabia, *all of which had once been a part of her own country.*"

A further proof of the film's rectitude, and when you get right down to it, patriotism, to America, is the Soviets' intention to give *Battle for Russia* immediate release throughout their whole country, and their already expressed opinion (according to *Variety*) that technically and in other respects *Battle for Russia* surpasses any of their own documentaries.

We say all praise to the men—Col. Anatole Litvak, producer, editors Hornbeck, Lyon, and Cohen, and composer Dmitri Tiomkin, and to the Special Service Division, War Department, whose combined efforts made *Battle for Russia* possible.

Besides being seen by a soldier audience of some seven million, the film, as you have already been told, is slated for immediate public viewing. Twentieth-Century Fox is to distribute. There is every indication that the tragic buck-passing which characterized the handling of *Prelude to War* will not be repeated. In the words of Tom Connors, distribution executive of Twentieth-Century Fox: "With three government agencies, the War Department, the State Department, and Office of War Information, requesting the War Activities Committee to give *Battle for Russia* to the public, Twentieth is glad to serve as the medium through which it is offered. Our organization is prepared to get behind the film *in the same manner it does on any important film.*" We'll settle for the type of exploitation *Sweet Rosy O'Grady* is receiving, and no complaints.

To this reviewer the fact that the State Department appears to be pushing for the release of the film is a most significant development and highly encouraging. That the War Department could have produced such a film is a striking testimonial to the honor of its democratic pledges.

American audiences will receive *Battle for Russia* with gratitude.

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UNIVERSAL PICTURES has turned up with a very creditable performance in *Corvette K-225*. There is good direction by Richard Rosson, a capable all-round cast, and first-rate photography by one of Hollywood's fine old-timers—Tony Gaudio. The picture, which is a tribute to the activities of the Royal Canadian Navy, shows marked influence of British documentaries—all to the good and a vast improvement over Columbia's slipshod *Destroyer* of similar subject matter.

"PARIS AFTER DARK" has George Sanders, Philip Dorn, Brenda Marshall, with screen-play by Harold Buchman and Leonide Moguy. It deserved better than relegation to the Rialto Theater, haven of the low-caste in movie production. The film gives a clear indication of how the French people await genuine invasion in force by armies of liberation.

DO NOT miss the OWI short, *Suggestion Box*, playing the houses at present writing. It is a simple, heart-warming presentation of the manner in which men and women workers, Negro and white, at the lathe, in shipyards, have devised means to speed war production. There are sympathetic comments on the results of labor-management setups. The picture furnishes additional proof of the loss to the United States when the defeatists shut up OWI's domestic Film Division.

DANIEL PRENTISS.

"Take It Off!"

THE NAKED GENIUS, *a new comedy by Gypsy Rose Lee, staged by George S. Kaufman with setting by Frederick Fox. Presented by Michael Todd at the Plymouth Theater.*

THE theory that what Broadway needs is more escapist theater was effectively kicked in the beaded girdle by no less a realist than Gypsy Rose Lee. Long before the embarrassing incident was over, *The Naked Genius*, over-dressed, over-gagged, and over-cast, lay groveling in the pit of excruciating boredom and not all the frenzied lashings by George Kaufman or the collective effort of thirty-two actors, fifteen trained dogs, two pathetic monkeys, and a rooster could get it off its hams. The truth is it had not the bone of an idea to support it. *Variety* reported that when, at the try-out, Gypsy beheld what she had done, she had cried out in anguish, "Take it off!" So had Kaufman. Nevertheless, Michael Todd, forgetting that a pulse-count should never be taken with one's own thumb, brought the body into New York under the impression that it was scintillatingly alive. Joan Blondell pretended to think so too. But the audience was not the least bit fooled. Altogether, a macabre evening.

H. T.

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